Problems of 'evil' in Jeremiah 2-6
a literary-theological study on ancient Judah's experience of the exile

Yan, Anderson

Awarding institution:
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Problems of 'Evil' in Jeremiah 2–6: A Literary-Theological Study on Ancient Judah's Experience of the Exile

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By

Anderson Yan

Department of Theology and Religious Studies
King's College London
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ABSTRACT

This thesis employs the contested notion of theodicy with reference to selected chapters of the book of Jeremiah and explores this theme in relation to the composition of Jeremiah 2–6. The study argues that responses to the traumatic experience of exile invite a judicious use of the term theodicy. A critical application of Ricoeur's thinking on evil provides a way of taking seriously the significant distance between the modern and the ancient contexts; however, as interpreters are not passive, Gadamer's notion of *Wirkungsgeschichte* establishes solid theoretical grounds for a hermeneutical sophistication where modern reflection can illuminate the interpretation of biblical texts. It is argued that the Babylonian exile was a catalyst for the composition of the book. The laments in Jer 4:5–6:30, in particular, were probably composed after the fall of Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE and later expansions in this block associating the city with a woman were further developed in Jer 2:2–4:4 in terms of an adulterous woman. As a result, Jeremiah 2–6 presents a theological interpretation of the fall of Jerusalem in a discourse in which Judah's apostasy is interpreted in the light of the retributive theology.

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"Out of suffering have emerged the strongest souls; the most massive characters are seared with scars."

Khalil Gibran

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Abbreviation

𐤔𐤌𐤓 – Samaritan Pentateuch
1 c.s. – First person common singular
2 m.s. – Second person masculine singular
2 f.s. – Second person feminine singular
3 f.s. – Third person feminine singular
3 m.s. – Third person masculine singular
A – *Codex Aleppo*
a.C. – Avanti Cristo
A/02 – *Codex Alexandrinus*
AB – Analecta Biblica
ABC – Anchor Bible Commentary
ABD – Anchor Bible Dictionary
ABR – Australian Biblical Review
Ad Afric. – Epistula ad Africanum
AECT – Ancient Egypt Canonical Texts
AIL – Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AIT – *alexandrinishe*
AJBI – Annal of the Japanese Biblical Institute
Am – Amos
ANE – Ancient Near East(ern)
ANEM – Ancient Near East Monographs
ANF – The Ante-Nicene Fathers
ANQ – Andover Newton Quarterly
AOAT – Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOC – Apollos Old Testament Commentary
AOTC – Abington Old Testament Commentary
Ap John – Apokalypse von Johannes
ATD – Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AThANT – Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neun Testaments
ATSAT – Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
AUNV – Avhandlinger Utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi
AUSTR – American University Studies Theology and Religion
AYBC – Anchor Yale Bible Commentary
B. Bat. – Baba Batra
B.C. – Before Christ
B/03 – *Codex Vaticanus*
BA – Biblical Archaeologist
Bar – Baruch
BASOR – Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BBET – Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BBR – Bulletin for Biblical Research
BBRSup – Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplement
BCE – Before the Common Era
BCR – Biblioteca di Cultura Religiosa
BEATAJ – Beiträgen Zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des Antiken Judentums
BET – Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BETL – Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
Bezw – beziehungsweise
BHK – Biblia Hebraica Kittel
BHQ – Biblia Hebraica Quinta
BHS – Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BI – Biblical Interpretation
Bib – Biblica

BibSac – Bibliotheca Sacra
BIS – Biblical Interpretation Series
BJRL – Bulletin of John Rylands University Library
BKAT – Biblischer Kommentar Alten Testament
BMS – Bibal Monograph Series
BR – Biblical Research
BSem – The Biblical Seminar
BTB – Biblical Theology Bulletin
BWANT – Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW – Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
C – Codex Cairensis
c. – Circa
C. E. – The common era
CA – Current Anthropology
Caminh – Caminhando
Cap. – Capítulo
CBH – Classical Biblical Hebrew
CBQ – Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBR – Currents in Biblical Research
CCSL – Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CE – Common era
Cf. – Confer/conferatur
CIS – Copenhagen International Seminar
Chr – Chronicles
Civ – De Civitate Dei
CJT – Canadian Journal of Theology
CLBSJ – Center and Library for the Bible and Social Justice Series
Col. – Column
COS – The Context of Scripture
CSSCA – Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology
CTA – M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Text from Ugariti, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places*. KTU: 2nd, enlarged edition. ALASPM 8. Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.
D – der dtr. Redaktion des Buches Jeremia
d.C. – Dopo Cristo
DA – Dialectical Anthropology
DCH – The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew
Deconst – Deconstruction
Def. art. – Definte article
Deut – Deuteronomy
DH – Deuteronomistic History
Diadask – Didaskalia
Diss. – Dissertation
DSD – Dead Sea Discoveries
DSS – Dead Sea Scrolls
Dtn – deuteronomistische
Dtr – deuteronomistic/deuteronomistische
DTT – Dansk teologisk tidsskrift
E.g. – Exempli gratia
EB – Études Bibliques
EBH – Early Biblical Hebrew
Eccl – Ecclesiastes
Eds. – Editors
EE – Estudios Eclesiásticos
EGL & MWBS – Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies
Enchr. – Enchridion
Enn. – Enneades
ESHM – European Seminar in Historical Methodology
ET – The Expository Times
Et al. – Et alia

ETSSS – Evangelical Theological Society Symposium Series
EuroJTh – European Journal of Theology/Journal Européen de Théologie/ Europäische Theologische Zeitschrift
Exod – Exodus
Ezek – Ezekiel
f./ff. – Folio
FAT – Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FBS – Fortress Classics in Biblical Studies
FC – The Church Fathers
FIOTL – Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature
FRLANT – Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neun Testaments
𝔊 – Septuagint
Gal – Galatians
GC – Geisteswissenschaftliche Classe
GCSEJ – Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
GE – Göttingen Edition
Gen – Genesis
GHLAT – Göttingen Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
GNS – Good News Studies
GTA – Göttinger Theologische Arbeiten
Hab – Habbakkuk
Haer. – Adversus Haereses
HAL – The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament
HAT – Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HB – Hebrew Bible
HBM – Hebrew Bible Monographs
HBS – Herders biblische Studien
HBV – The Hebrew Bible and Its Verions
HeBAI – Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel
hebr. – hebräisch
Herm – Hermeneia
Hist.-Filos – Historie-Filosof
Hos – Hosea
HS – Hebrew Studies
HSM – Harvard Semitic Monographs
Hss. – Handschriften
HThKAT – Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTR – The Harvard Theological Review
HTS – Hervormde teologiese studies
HUBP – Hebrew University Bible Project
I.e. – Id est
Ibid. – Ibidem
ICC – International Critical Commentary
Id. – Idem
IEJ – Israel Exploration Journal
Ier – Ieremia
II Kön. – II Königen
IJPR – International Journal for Philosophy of Religion
Interp – Interpretation
IOSCS – The International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies
Ir – Ira Dei
IRT – Issues in Religion and Theology
Isa – Isaiah
Islam – Islamica
J. C. – Jésus Christ
JAF – The Journal of American Folklore
JASP – Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology
JBL – Journal of Biblical Literature
JBR – Journal of Bible and Religion
Jdg – Judges

Jer – Jeremiah
JETS – Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
Jhrg. – Jahr
JHS – Journal of Hebrew Scriptures
Jir. – Jeremia
JNES – Journal of Near East Studies
Josh – Joshua
JR – Journal of Religion
JSJSup – Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNTSup – Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT – Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSup – Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP – Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSS – Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS – The Journal of Theological Studies
K – Ketiv
Kap. – Kapitel
KAT – Kommentar zum Alten Testament
Kgs – Kings
KHCAT – Kurzen Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
Kön – Königen
KTU – M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. *Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*. AOAT 24/I. Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1976.
KUB – Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi. Berlin: Akademia-Verlag, 1921.
L/B19A – *Leningradensis Codex*
LAI – Library of Ancient Israel
LBH – Late Biblical Hebrew
LBSXSL – Logos Bible Software X Scholar's Library
LCL – Loeb Classical Library
LHB/OTS – Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LHBOT – Library of Hebrew Bible Old Testament Studies
Lit – Literatūra
LNTS – The Library of New Testament Studies
LTHS – Literature and Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures
LTQ – Lexington Theological Quarterly
LXX – Septuagint
מ – Masoretic Text
MT – Masoretic Text
MTSR – Method & Theory in the Study of Religion
NCI – The New Critical Idiom
Neh – Nehemiah
NETS – New English Translation of the Septuagint
NICOT – New International Commentary on the Old Testament
Nr. – Nummer
NRSV – New Revised Standard Version
NT – New Testament
NTG – Neue Theologische Grundrisse
Num – Numbers
NZSTR – Neu Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie und Religionsphilophie
OAN – Oracles Against the Nations
OB – The Oxford Bible Series
OBO – Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBS – Österreichische biblische Studien
OBT – Overtures to Biblical Theology
OG – Old Greek
OT – Old Testament
OTE – Old Testament Essays
OTL – Old Testament Library
OTM – Oxford Theological Monographs

OTS – Oudtestamentische Studïen/ Old Testament Studies
OTSEM – Old Testament Studies: Epistemologies and Methods
OTSGBS – Old Testament Series Guides to Biblical Scholarship
OTSSA – The Old Testament Society of South Africa
OTWSA – Oud-Testamenttische Wergemenschap
P – Priestly document
Pap. – Papyrus
PB – Psychological Bulletin
PE – Philosophie De L'Esprit
PEQ – Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PFES – Publication of the Finnish Exegetical Society
Phil – Philosophy
PHSC – Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts
Pim – Pimlico
PL – Prologue
Prov – Proverbs
Psa – Psalm
PSWRA – Pericope Scripture as Written and Read in Antiquity
Q – Qere
𝔔 – Qumran
Qoh – Qoheleth
R – *Rabbenu*
R&E – Review & Expositor
RB – Revue Biblique
RBS – Resources for Biblical Studies
RC – Religion Compass
Re – Reyes
Resp – Respublica
Rev – Revelation
RGG – Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung
Rom – Romans
RTL – Revue Théologique de Louvain
RTT – Research in Text Theory
𝔖 – Peshita
SAKDQ – Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschtlicher Quellenschriften
Sam – Samuel
SBET – Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology
SBL – Society of Biblical Literature
SBLAB – Society of Biblical Literature Academia Biblica
SBLit – Studies in Biblical Literature
SBS – Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT – Studies in Biblical Theology
SBU – Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslagsverk
Sem – Semeia
SESJ – Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran julkaisuja
SJOT – Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament
SL – Studia Leibnitiana
SNN – Studia Semitica Neerlandica
SOFSup – Symbolae Osloensis Fasc.
SOTSMS – The Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series
SRR – Seminary Ridge Review
SSLL – Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics
STDJ – Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
Strom – Stromateis
SW – Soziale Welt
SWBA – Social World of Biblical Antiquity Series
𝔗 – Targum

T&T Clark BS – T&T Clark Biblical Studies
T&T Clark SG – T&T Clark Study Guides
TB – Theologische Bücherei
TBH – Transitional Biblical Hebrew
TBNJCT – Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions
TDOT – Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament
Text – Textus
THLZ – Die Theologische Literaturzeitung
Thr. – Threni
TR – Theologische Realenzyklopädie
Trans – Transeuphratène
TrinJ – Trinity Journal
TS – Theologische Studien
TyndB – Tyndale Bullentin Theologische Bücherei
TZ – Theologische Zeitschrift
UCOP – University of Cambridge Oriental Publications
USQR – Union Seminary Quarterly Review
𝔙 – Vulgata
v. Chr. – Vor Christus
Verbum Eccles – Verbum et Ecclesia
Vgl. – vergleiche
VS – Vox Scripturae
VT – Vetus Testamentum
VTSup – Vetus Testamentum Supplement
WBG – Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft
WD – Wort und Dienst
Wis – Wisdom of Solomon
WJK – Westminster and John Knox Press
WMANT – Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WTJ – Westminster Theological Journal
ZABR – Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte/ Journal for Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Law
ZAW – Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZBK – Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZThK – Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
01/א – Codex Sinaiticus

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1. Introduction

The largest book of the whole Bible using a word count criterion, the book of Jeremiah,[1] exposes the accounts of the last days of Judah. Despite the protagonism of the prophet in a plot, reflecting on his life and ministry, the involvement of the historical prophet in the composition of the scroll named after him alongside the historicity of some of the events disclosed within it are uncertain. The symbiotic marriage between historical events and literary process resulted in a fictionalisation of reality where the distinction between historical events and literary expressions are significantly blurred.[2] However that may be, the storyline develops through a series of events, which led to the invasion of Jerusalem by the Babylonians (587/6 BCE) followed by a sequence of incidents that escalated after the capital's occupation, inaugurating the dark period of the exile when the foundations of Judah's identity (the land, temple and monarchy) vanished raising serious questions regarding the people's faith.[3]

Colourful images of destruction, violence and distress have led various generations of readers to a powerful identification with their own negative experiences with those distressing pictures evoked in Jeremiah. Such associations, however, may be directly influenced by internal elements introduced by the book itself (e.g., the weeping prophet cf. Jer 8:23). The combination of these internal elements in conjunction with intertextual readings (e.g., the claims that the prophet composed laments about King Josiah's death cf. 2 Chr 35:25) is even

[1] Hereafter Jeremiah.
[2] See Yairah Amit, 'Looking at History Though Literary Glasses', in *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman*, ed. Yairah Amit et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 1-14; Lester L. Grabbe, '"The Lying Pen of the Scribes"? Jeremiah and History', in *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to Navav Na'aman*, ed. Yairah Amit et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 189-201; Hans M. Barstad, 'What Prophets Do. Reflections on Past Reality in the Book of Jeremiah', in *Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah*, ed. Hans M. Barstad and Reinhard G. Kratz, BZAW 388 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2009), 10-32.
[3] Thomas Römer, *Jérémie: Du Prophète au Livre* (Poliez-le-Grand: Editions du Moulin, 2003), 7.

amplified by the organisation of the Greek canon alongside the interpretation of 𝔊-Lamentations.[4] Empathetic associations like this can be found in ancient Jewish and Christian traditions as well as amongst modern readers.[5] Such a tie of gloomy experiences frequently attributed to 'evil' combined with other closely related terminologies next to painful images described in Jeremiah seems comprehensible, as according to Síwek, the invasive way in which tragic events break into one's life disrupting its peaceful and harmonious status quo naturally leads the afflicted ones to search for answers regarding the causes of such distress.[6]

[4] In the Alexandrian canon Jeremiah is followed by Baruch, Lamentations and the Letter of Jeremiah; moreover, 𝔊-Lamentations attributes Jeremiah as its author cf. Delbert R. Hillers, *Lamentations: Introduction, Translation and Notes*, AYBC 7A, 2nd ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1972), 11; R. B. Salters, *Lamentations*, ICC (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 5. The influence of 𝔊 tradition in the presentation of Jeremiah as a lamenting prophet is depicted in various works of art of which Rembrandt's is perhaps the most emblematic one. See Mary Chilton Callaway, 'The Lamenting Prophet and the Modern Self: On the Origins of Contemporary Reading of Jeremiah', in *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honour of Herbert B. Huffmon*, ed. John Kaltner and Louis Stulman, T&T Clark BS (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 48-60.

[5] Josephus incorporates Jeremiah's story within his retelling of the history of the Jews following 𝔐-Jeremiah and concentrates mostly on the book's prose section, but his identification with the prophet is more evident in *The Jewish War* cf. Michael Avioz, 'Jeremiah and His Book in Josephus' Writings', in *The Book of Jeremiah: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, ed. Jack R. Lundbom, Craig A. Evans and Bradford A. Anderson, VTSup 178 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), 379-93. Matthew's gospel uses the image of Jeremiah to address a particular theodicy, attempting to address the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE alongside the writer's interest in presenting 'Jesus as a suffering and rejected "prophet-like-Jeremiah"' cf. Michael Knowles, *Jeremiah in Matthew's Gospel: The Rejected-Prophet Motif in Matthaen Redaction*, JSNTSup 68 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 265. Like Hebrews in the NT, *The Apocalypse of Paul* presents Jeremiah as martyr for his faithfulness to his mission. See John Barton, 'Jeremiah in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha', in *Troubling Jeremiah*, ed. A. R. Pete Diamond, Kathleen M. O'Connor and Louis Stulman, JSOTSup 260 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 310. Theories about trauma and disaster applied to the reading of Jeremiah also make this strong connection between readers and the text cf. Kathleen M. O'Connor, *Jeremiah: Pain and Promise* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2011), 1-6.

[6] Paul Síwek, *The Philosophy of Evil* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1951), 15. The OT/HB presents diverse responses to the issue of suffering which are by no means uniform cf. Michael E. W. Thompson, *Where is the God of Justice? The Old Testament and Suffering* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011), 4-6. At least three distinctive responses can be identified in Jeremiah: moral order in the midst of the chaos, the prophet's suffering next to moral chaos and silence alongside the absence of God cf. Louis Stulman, 'Jeremiah as a Polyphonic Response to Suffering', in *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honour of Herbert B. Huffmon*,

Nonetheless, one might still wonder if the use of the term 'theodicy' in the study of the OT/HB is justifiable considering that it was originally a neologism coined by Leibniz in 1710, combining the Greek θεος and δικη, in an attempt to address the 'problem of evil'[7] raised by the maxims often credited to Epicurus below.

> Deus, inquit, aut vult, tollere mala et non potest; aut potesi ei non vult; aut neque volt, neque potest; aut et vult et potest. Si vult et non potest, imbecillis est; quod in Deum non cadit. Si potest et non vult, invidus; quod seque alienum a Deo. Si neque vult, neque potesi, et invidus et imbecillis est; ideoque neque Deus. Si vult et potesi, quod solum Deo covenit, unde ergo sunt mala? Aut eurilla non tollit?[8]

Still, since Leibniz's treatise attempts to harmonise the nature of the Jewish and Christian god with human freedom and the existence of evil in the world,[9] it resembles the scholastic discourse and method[10] which are better allocated within the field of systematic theology rather than biblical studies. Such features, however, do not necessarily jeopardise the study of theodicy in the Hebrew scriptures. As Schmid rightly argues, scholasticism is just one type of theological inquiry amongst many other options.[11] In resonance with Barr, he recognises that theology in a scholastic sense is an anachronistic concept to this body of literature, but Schmid also rejects that the OT/HB is atheological, as

ed. John Kaltner and Louis Stulman, T&T Clark BS (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 302-18.

[7] Larry M. Jorgensen and Samuel Newlands, 'Introduction' to *New Essays on Leibniz's Theodicy*, ed. Larry M. Jorgensen and Samuel Newlands (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 1-5.

[8] The first occurrence of these dictums is registered by Lactantius (cf. *Ir*. 13.19), but they were subsequently brought back in David Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion and Other Writings*, 2nd ed. Repr. (London: Penguin Books, 1779), 186.

[9] Leibniz used the term theodicy, proposing the best of the possible worlds based on the distinction between quantitative and qualitative evils within the world, denying that there is more evil than good in God's creation. His view on the relationship between predetermination and morality, however, seemed close to determinism. See Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Essais de Theodicee sur La Bonté de Dieu, La Liberté de L'Homme, et L'Origine du Mal* (Amsterdam: Isaac Troyel, 1710), 624-37.

[10] Despite Leibniz's criticism towards scholastic authors, his contextualisation of scholastic vocabulary and reasoning suggests that at least Leibniz did not completely reject scholasticism cf. Arnaud Pelletier, 'Leibniz and the Scholastics', *SL* 46 (2014):123-26.

[11] For a detailed evaluation of the relationship between concept of theology and the Bible see Konrad Schmid, *Gibt es Theologie im Altem Testament? Zum Theologiebegriff in der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft*, TS 7 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2013), 13-52; —, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, NTG (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 13-44.

such a statement undervalues its content since this literary corpus is not absent of theological formulations.[12] Another fundamental observation raised by Schmid is the paradigmatic shift in research in the field of humanities where theology used to occupy a leading position until not long ago, but as natural and exact sciences started exercising a substantial impact on humanities, and consequently also affected biblical studies, theology and hermeneutics have been virtually left aside.[13] Furthermore, rather than a matter of different personal convictions, Schmid claims that the existence of theological reasoning in the OT/HB is a matter related to the evaluation of content and should not be restricted to canonical writings but extended to post-canonical literature instead.[14] Theodicy is then a subdivision of theology that Carroll describes as

> that branch of theology devoted to defending the righteousness of God against objections resulting from evil and suffering in the world. For the period under consideration theodicy concerned justifying the appalling suffering caused by the destruction of Jerusalem at the hands of the Babylonians. Behind the Babylonians was seen the activity of Yahweh and the divine role in the disaster required justification for the community.[15]

Schmid, however, calls the attention to an essential distinction in the phenomenon 'theology' as a notional fixed discipline, particularly the manner in which it has evolved in Christianity since

> "Theologie" ist dort grundsätzlich philosophisch oder zumindest von einer Affinität zur Philosophie geprägt. Sie sucht die Nähe zur Philosophie und formuliert so etwas wie die Wahrheitsfrage.[16]

For this reason, he makes the following distinction; on the one hand,

> Die erste Form von Theologie kann mit Lohfink in der Tat nur als implizite Theologie beschrieben werden, aber es bleibt gleichwohl ratsam, bei der Beschreibung der entsprechenden Phänomene auf den Theologiebegriff nicht zu verzichten, wenn man den Reflexionscharakter als konstitutives Merkmal von Theologie ansieht.

[12] James Barr, *The Bible in the Modern World* (London: SCM Press, 1973), 89-111; Schmid, *Gibt*, 53-57; —, *Theologie*, 45-48.
[13] Schmid, *Gibt*, 51-52.
[14] Ibid., 118-19.
[15] Robert P. Carroll, 'Theodicy and the Community: The Text and Subtext of Jeremiah V 1-6', *Prophets, Worship and Theodicy*, ed. A. S. Van Der Woude, OTS 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 33.
[16] Schmid, *Gibt*, 54.

> Solche Formen von impliziter Theologie können auch unterschiedliche Grade anfänglichen Explizierens einschliessen.[17]

On the other hand,

> Theologie des Alten Testament im Sinne eines *genetivus objectivus* allerdings kann es nur als ein von aussen an das Alte Testament herangetragenes Unterfangen geben, was es aber keineswegs zu einem illegitimen Projekt macht. Auch eine Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache wird nicht von dieser selbst, sondern von aussen her entwickelt, stellt aber selbstredend ein legitimes wissenschaftliches Unterfangen dar. Allerdings entsteht innerhalb eines solchen Zugangs von aussen die Notwendigkeit, die jeweilige Perspektive, aus der nach einer Theologie des Alten Testaments gefragt wird, zu benennen.[18]

But despite accepting both types as legitimate programs of theological inquiry applied to the OT/HB, Schmid limits his approach to the former. This study, however, shall avoid a rigid dichotomy adopting a heuristic approach in which external categories are employed as the starting point to identify potential issues with the use of the term theodicy in the study of the OT/HB before moving on to the internal elements on the grounds that normally the observer inductively approaches the object of study with some initial assumptions and only during the course of his/her research these presuppositions are sometimes maintained, challenged or modified.[19]

Additionally, the fact that the term theodicy is an anachronism unknown to the ancient writers does not change the reality that they struggled with similar problems,[20] yet one of the critiques towards many modern philosophical approaches to the issue of theodicy raised by Laato and De Moor is their lack of connection with those *de facto* afflicted with suffering, which differs from the written testimony

[17] Ibid., 55.
[18] Ibid., 55.
[19] According to Bultmann, no exegete is free of presuppositions, although the interpreter should not impose his/her own conclusions before all the evidence is scrutinised cf. Rudolf Bultmann, 'In eigener Sache', *TZ* 13 (1957):241-50. Analogically Schmid's distinction can be compared to the differentiation between 'emic' and 'etic' approaches. For Ulin, such a polarity in conventional social theory where comprehension and elucidation are distinguished is hardly sustainable, as it obscures social and historical eventualities which are present in social investigation; consequently, it supresses the cross-cultural conversation which are important for both the observer's own knowledge and the object of study cf. Robert C. Ulin, 'Beyond Explanation and Understanding: Anthropology and Hermeneutics', *DA* 17 (1992):253-69.
[20] Thompson, *Where*, 3-4.

imbedded in diverse religious traditions over millennia, as they actually reflect the voices of those who have experienced pain.[21] Such remarks also resonate with observations brought by Williams and Crenshaw, as both mention that unlike the highly speculative meaning, ANE traditions related to theodicy are mainly driven by religious and cultic beliefs anchored in observations of daily affairs instead of purely philosophical ones.[22] Whilst this absence of contact with those who experienced suffering might be a weakness, this does not legitimise an automatic rejection of philosophical discussions since they can occasionally inform the reader elucidating one's interpretation of evil. In this aspect, Ricoeur's contribution to this thorny topic is promising, as it balances the pastoral dimension without missing the historical, cultural and intellectual criterion before proceeding directly to philosophical speculation.[23]

As a work of art (or even better sacred literary art), which attempts to convey theological meaning to the events leading up to the exile, or using Stulman's words, Jeremiah presents 'a thick theological interpretation of suffering'.[24] As such the echoes of such a traumatic experience within the book invites readers from diverse communities to participate with their own experiences in the interpretation of Jeremiah without necessarily ignoring questions related to its genesis.

[21] A. Laato & J. C. de Moor, 'Introduction' to *Theodicy in the World of the Bible*, ed. Antti Laato and Johannes C. De Moor (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), ix-xiii.
[22] Ronald J. Williams, 'Theodicy in the Ancient Near East', *CJT* 2 (1956):15; *ABD* 6:444.
[23] Ricoeur begins his reflection on evil with an exploratory exercise, which he names as propaedeutic, with the goal of preparing the reader to listen to his arguments about myths and symbols with the correct background. In this first step he examines the phenomenon of the experience of confessing personal evil or wickedness in his attempt to construct a philosophy of religious consciousness and experience cf. Paul Ricoeur, *Philosophie de La Volonté: Finitude et Culpabilité. La Symbolique du Mal*, vol. 2, PE (Paris: Montaigne, 1960), 11-30. Particularly in *Le Mal: Un Défi à la Philosophie et à la Théologie*, 3rd ed. (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2004), 56-65, Ricoeur argues that the issue of evil is not just a speculative problem, but it requires negotiation between thinking, moral and political actions and the individuals' spiritual change. Yet Ricoeur's three primary symbols of evil can be found in biblical traditions cf. *Symbolique*, 31-134.
[24] Louis Stulman, *Jeremiah*, AOTC (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2005), 32.

Crenshaw provides two definitions, which shall be used to guide this project. In 1983 he defined theodicy as the attempt 'to pronounce a verdict of "Not Guilty" over God for whatever seems to destroy the order of society and the universe',[25] but nearly 10 years later Crenshaw slightly modified his definition as 'the attempt to defend divine justice in the face of aberrant phenomena that appear to indicate the deity's indifference or hostility toward virtuous people'.[26] Personally, 'hostility toward virtuous people' seems to me the key difference here, but as biblical texts were subjected to a long and complex compositional process involving edition, transmission, reception, etc., Crenshaw's definitions may correspond to different stages of such an extensive manifold redactional activity. Since the Deuteronomists by no means consider Israel innocent,[27] Crenshaw's first definition seems applicable to the circumstances around the Babylonian exile. His second definition, however, might be suitable to the later diaspora generation within the Hellenistic setting, when Jeremiah was translated into Greek, especially because of the high view towards righteousness alongside vindication after death in literary works of this period, such as the Wisdom of Solomon and the Lives of the Prophets.[28]

[25] James L. Crenshaw, 'Introduction: The Shift from Theodicy to Anthropodicy', in *Theodicy in the Old Testament*, ed. James L. Crenshaw, IRT 4 (Philadelphia, PA and London: Fortress Press and SPCK, 1983), 1.
[26] *ABD* 6:444.
[27] Antti Laato, 'Theodicy in the Deuteronomistic History', in *Theodicy in the World of the Bible*, ed. Antti Laato and Johannes C. De Moor (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), 183-84; Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 113-14; James L. Crenshaw, 'Theodicy and Prophetic Literature', in *Theodicy in the World of the Bible*, ed. Antti Laato and Johannes C. De Moor (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 236-37.
[28] Although the Wisdom of Solomon is not entirely familiar with the Platonic doctrine of the immortality of the soul, it does indicate some knowledge of its pre-existence (e.g., Wis 8:19-20). Still such immortality seems strongly conditioned to righteousness cf. John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 185-87. Like apocalyptic writings, the book also mentions the reversal of conditions between the righteous and wicked during the 'divine dispensation' cf. David Winston, 'Theodicy in the Wisdom of Solomon', in *Theodicy in the World of the Bible*, ed. Antti Laato and Johannes C. De Moor (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), 531. In the Life of the Prophets Jeremiah prophesies the resurrection of the saints. See Sean A. Adams, 'Jeremiah in the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha', in *The Book of Jeremiah: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, ed. Jack R. Lundbom, Craig A. Evans and Bradford A. Anderson.

Our investigation of theodicy shall focus on the composition of Jeremiah 2–6, as these five chapters consist of a coherent literary block in its own right. Apart from a few insertions of prose, independent oracles of doom in poetry were bonded together into a composition where apostasy features as its dominant theme. The borders of this literary unit are well-defined by the standard introduction in prophetic literature, which in Jeremiah 1 includes the call narrative followed by two visions, and the temple sermon written in prose in Jeremiah 7.[29]

This study is divided into six chapters. A selective survey on Jeremiah studies is provided in chapter 2. It observes that the relationship between textual criticism and literary criticism is more fluid than was originally thought and also traces the development from source to redaction criticism, where the proposal of Jeremiah's Deuteronomistic redaction resulted in two different reactions: biographical and socio-literary approaches. The implication of studying the final stages of Jeremiah led to its synchronic reading, which also invited the reader's participation in the production of meaning. Chapter 3 attempts to justify the use of the term 'theodicy' in the study of the OT/HB, arguing that since the notions of divinity and evil are intimately related to the concept of theodicy, it is important to dissociate these two axes from theistic perspectives. The reader is then introduced to the ANE world where polytheism and iconic practices significantly contrast to theistic views of god. After that, a brief discussion on the subject of evil, where Ricoeur is the main interlocutor, is presented to the reader. It problematises the use of the term evil for a wide range of negative experiences, which in Jeremiah are represented by: disaster, sinful actions, social aspects, an inclination for wicked behaviour, the ideological use of 'evil' and the idea of suffering. Methodological considerations are presented in chapter 4 where traditional methods of biblical criticism, such as text criticism

VTSup 178 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), 359-78.

[29] Georg Fischer, *Jeremia: 1–25*, vol. 1, HThKAT (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2005), 145.

and form criticism and the insights of linguistic studies and intertextuality are employed in conjunction with hermeneutical refinement. Chapter 5 argues that the suffering caused by 'natural/physical evil' through the disaster of 587/6 BCE triggered laments in Jer 4:5–6:30; such laments were theologised using different literary devices evolving into a theology of blame followed by a further theological reflection of repentance, which appear more developed in Jeremiah 2–3.

2. A Selective Survey on Studies in Jeremiah

Over the research history of Jeremiah studies, such long scholarly tradition has developed into a well-established tripartite division in which the focus has been either on the authors, texts or the readers. Such perspectives, however, are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as they may occasionally complement each other. But even if this division might be didactical, in practice it seems more artificial than it is normally recognised. Still, the issues involving the relationship between the Hebrew and Greek versions of Jeremiah alongside its correspondence with the so-called Deuteronomistic literature, in particular, have occupied significant space within those stances interested in the writers of the book. In terms of the literary development, however, both aspects are closer related than it was previously thought especially after the discovery of the DSS. Despite that, the relationship between Jeremiah and the Deuteronomistic writings has direct implications for the issue of theodicy since the theme of the exile is of extreme importance in the Deuteronomistic theology. Even so, the book's relation with the Deuteronomistic material has provoked number of debates within biographical and socio-literary approaches, which at their centre revolve around questions regarding the correlation between internal elements and external events alongside the nature of the Deuteronomistic redaction.

2.1. The Tension Between Textual Criticism and Literary Criticism[1]

Ultimately speaking the OT/HB is an abstraction made available through multiple copies in which textual criticism, occasionally

[1] The term 'literary criticism' (i.e. *Literarkritik*) here is used in a broad sense as the attempt to trace the literary history of particular books and, therefore, it is interchangeable with 'redaction criticism' (i.e. *Redaktionkritik*/ *Redaktionsgeschichte*) accordingly to Konrad Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2008), 33; *TR* 28:367.

referred to as 'lower criticism', attempts to recover the alleged *Urtext*(*en*) behind the current form of the biblical books through an evaluative process comparing various witnesses from the 'closure' of these books to modern printed editions and assessing their relationship.[2] In Jeremiah's case the book was preserved into two versions (𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah) and both are witnessed by the DSS. The Hebrew version is about 1/7 longer than the Greek[3] placing the OAN (oracles against the nations) at the end of the book whilst the latter locates these oracles in the middle where the nations also appear in a different order, as the table below demonstrates.[4]

𝔐-Jeremiah	**𝔊-Jeremiah**
1–25:13[a]	
25:13[b]-38	**32:13[b]-38**
26	33
27	**34**
28	35
29	**36**
30	**37**
31	38
32	39
33	**40**
34	41
35	42
36	43
37	44
38	45
39	**46**

[2] Angelika Berlejung, 'Quellen und Methoden', in *Grundiformation Altes Testament*, ed. Jan Christian Gertz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH, 2006), 39-40.
[3] Discrepancies regarding the actual length amongst scholars might be related to the criteria of word counting and methodology adopted in terms of translation. Janzen suggested 2,700 words absent in 𝔊-Jeremiah compared to the Masoretic cf. J. Gerald Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, HSM 9 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 1. Min, however, registers approximately 3,000 words cf. Y.-J., Min, 'The Minuses and Pluses of the LXX Translation of Jeremiah as Compared with the Masoretic Text: Their Classification and Possible Origins' (PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1977), 159. Still, Tov, Stipp and Weis estimate that the Greek text is somewhat 1/7 shorter than its Hebrew counterpart cf. Emanuel Tov, 'Some Aspects of the Textual and Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah', in *Le Livre de Jérémie*, ed. P.-M. Bogaert, BETL 54 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997) 148; Hermann-Josef Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches: Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte*, OBO 136 (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 1; Richard D. Weiss, 'The Textual Situation in the Book of Jeremiah', in *Sôfer Mahîr: Essays in Honour of Adrian Schenker Offered by Editors of Biblia Hebraica Quinta*, ed. Yonahan A. P. Goldman, Arie Van der Kooij and Richard D. Weis, VTSup. 110, (Leiden and Boston, MA: Leiden, 2006), 320.
[4] References in bold indicate missing verses.

40		47
41		48
42		49
43		50
44		51:1-30
45		51:31-35
46:1-2	Egypt	26:2-25
46:27-28		26:27-28
47	Philistines	29
48	Moab	**31**
49:1-6	Ammon	30:17-21/22
49:7-22	Edom	30:1-16
49:23-27	Damascus	30:29-33
49:28-33	Kedar	30:23-28
49:34-39	Elam	25:14-20
50–51	Babylon	27–28
52		

None of the manuscripts related to both versions, however, reflect the period described in Jeremiah or even close to it. Even if one considers that the Masoretic activity was already taking place sometime between 500 and 1000 CE, there is no question that, except for the DSS, all manuscripts attributed to 𝔐 were medieval. The following codices – *Cairensis* (C), Aleppo (A) and *Leningradensis* (L/B19^{A}) – are dated respectively to 895, ca. 930 and 1008/9 CE, although the first two are incomplete since the first codex only contains the prophetic literature whilst most of the Pentateuch was destroyed in the second one, leaving L as the oldest complete surviving manuscript of the entire OT/HB.[5] Whilst the situation of the Greek Bible seems more promising considering that all manuscripts associated with 𝔊 are relatively earlier, they are still located within the common era. Leaving their fragmentary nature aside, the Chester Beatty papyri (particularly Pap VIII, which includes Jer 4:30–5:24) are the earliest, dating sometime between the second and the fourth centuries CE while the earliest complete collections, which include the codices *Sinaiticus* (ℵ/01), *Alexandrinus* (A/02) and *Vaticanus* (B/03), would appear only

[5] Martin Jan Mulder, 'The Transmission of the Biblical Text', in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading & Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism & Early Christianity*, ed. Martin Jan Mulder (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), 106-108, 115-16.

later between the fourth and fifth centuries CE already using uncial letters.[6]

Textual critical interest, nevertheless, has been present from very early. The work of the Church Fathers (e.g., Origen's Hexapla and Jerome's biblical commentaries) testifies this engagement.[7] Particularly in Jeremiah, Origen was aware of detailed differences between 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah as reported by the extract below:

> [...] και τι με δει καταλεγειν α μετα πολλου καματου ανελεξαμεθα, υπερ του μη λανθανειν ημας την διαφοραν των παρα Ιουδαιοις και ημιν αντιγραφων; Πολλα δε τοιαυτα και εν τω Ιερεμια κατενοησαμεν, εν ω και πολλην μεταθεσιν και εξαλλαγην της λεξεως των προφητευομρων ευρομεν […].[8]

And not much later, Jerome regarded such discrepancies as scribal mistakes according to his commentary, which gives the following statement:

> [...] sed magis Jeremiae ordinem, librarierum errore confusum, multaque quae desuni, ex Hebraeis fontibus digerere, ne complere: ut novum ex veteri, verunique pro corrupto atque lalsato Prophetam teneas [...].[9]

Despite a certain theological bias involving heated discussions between Catholics and Protestants, the emergence of polyglot editions, such as Cappellus, *Critica Sacra* and Richard Simon, *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* and others, after the Reformation reinforces such an interest in textual criticism, which increased dramatically from the Enlightenment onwards with the appearance of notable critical monographs.[10] The relationship between Jeremiah's two version, in particular, resulted in proposals ranging from different editions to the quality of the translation, and even an abridgment of a longer text.

Eichhorn was, perhaps, the first scholar in Modern times to dedicate respectful attention to the properties of 𝔊-Jeremiah, arguing that the discrepancies between both versions could not be justified in terms of

[6] Cf. *ABD* 1:901-903, 1069, 1074-75; 6:49-50.
[7] Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2012), 19.
[8] *Ad Afric.* 4.
[9] PL 24, col. 679.
[10] Tov, *Textual*, 19-20.

scribal mistakes because there is a visible consistency of absence of particular words.[11] Although he did not rule out that the translator could have left some repetitions aside, the fact that the Greek text reflects a reasonable literal translation raises questions in terms of the absence of entire segments and its different organisation makes the argument based on the bad quality of translation unconvincing.[12] Eichhorn was also possibly the pioneer in terms of explaining the relationship between both versions in light of editorial activity, claiming that one cannot discard that behind such discrepancies lies 'eine doppelte Recension oder eine doppelte Ausgabe'.[13] The first edition, written during the fourth year of King Jehoiakim and further expanded in Egypt with the inclusion of later oracles, was sent to the exiles in Babylon while another copy with identical content but not in one single volume was retained in Egypt.[14] Jeremiah used this copy as the basis for the second edition of the book, which included updated material and further supplementation, within this revised edition which was sent to the Palestinian community.[15] The Egyptian copy, by contrast, was passed on without significant revision and since this copy was originally divided into more than one volume, the different organisation of 𝔊-Jeremiah resulted from the process of assembling these separated volumes into a single one.[16] Not surprisingly Eichhorn's explanation is regarded by some as the forerunner of the theory of local texts.[17]

Despite agreeing with Eichhorn that such differences should not be reduced to textual corruption of Greek version, Spohn still argued that such discrepancies resulted from the hands of the translator who had

[11] Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, 'Bemerkungen über den Text des Propheten Jeremias', in *Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Litteratur*, ed. Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1777), 141-68.
[12] Eichhorn, 'Bemerkungen', 141-68.
[13] Id., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, vol. 4 (Leipzig, Bey Weidmanns erben und Reich: 1824), 170-222.
[14] Id., *Einleitung*, 201-212.
[15] Ibid., 201-222.
[16] Ibid., 201-222.
[17] See James Seth Adcock, 'Did Eichhorn Originate the Theory of Local Texts?' *ZAW* 125 (2013):304-307.

the freedom to omit duplications of passages that were already translated since this translation was for his private use.[18] Spohn's justification for the presence of some doublets which contradicts his argument for omission, however, was on the grounds that the translator possibly forgot that such passages were already translated, which is evidenced by the significant gap between the first and second occurrences of duplicate passages, although he did not exclude the possibility of more than one translator.[19]

Whilst Spohn questioned the quality of 𝔊-Jeremiah text, Movers defended the priority of the Greek version on the basis of its age alongside the agreement between 𝔊-Jeremiah 52 and 2 Kings 25, which does not find the same support in 𝔐-Jeremiah.[20] Despite acknowledging the presence of pluses in both versions, Movers pointed out to the higher expansionist occurrences in the Masoretic text which he considered as a later supplementary development due to its interpretative nature.[21]

Closer to Spohn, Graf argued that 𝔊-Jeremiah reflects a corrupted text as he thought that since the copyist were likely to be reverent to the text, there was more probability for the translator to omit such redundancies than to a scribe to add more content to the text.[22] Scholz, however, followed Mover's view, which proposed that the translation of 𝔊-Jeremiah was fairly literal (e.g., word order of the Hebrew instead of Greek, unfamiliarity with the reception language, use of transliteration of unknown words, expressions or challenging phrases), suggesting that the Alexandrian text was translated from a different

[18] M. Gottlieb Leberecht Spohn, *Ieremias vates e versione Iudaeorum Alexandrinorum: ac reliquorum interpretum Graecorum*, v. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1794), 4-7.
[19] Spohn, *Ieremias*, 8-20.
[20] Franz Carl Movers, *De utriusque recensionis Vaticiniorum Ieremiae, Graecae Alexandrinae et hebraicae masorethicae indole et origine Commentatio Critica* (Hamburg: Perthes, 1837), 2-4.
[21] Movers, *utriusque*, 5ff., 51.
[22] Karl Heinrich Graf, *Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt*, v. 1 (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1862), xl-lvii.

Vorlage.[23] The preference for 𝔊-Jeremiah is also visible in Workman's assessment of Jeremiah's text, which not only did defend its superiority based on its antiquity, but also attempted a retroversion from the Greek back to Hebrew.[24] Streane followed the tendency of prioritising the Alexandrian text over the Masoretic based on the argument that the Hebrew version represents a later and expanded text.[25] Despite Eichhorn's early suggestion about the possibility of more than one translator involved in the Greek text, Thackeray elaborated this theory with more details, attributing 𝔊-Jeremiah 1–28 to Jeremiah α, who was also responsible for the Greek translation of Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets, whilst 𝔊-Jeremiah 29–51 alongside Bar. 1:1–3:8 were credited to Jeremiah β.[26]

The dedication of significant time and energy studying these various manuscripts resulted in important critical editions in which the Hebrew and Greek versions of Jeremiah shall be represented here respectively by the *BHS* and the *Göttingen Edition* (*GE*).

The Hebrew text of Jeremiah was edited by Rudolph and is currently in its fourth edition in which its revision restricts itself to textual corrections alongside the revision of the second apparatus and the Masora, and despite changing the order of the books, it still maintains a continuity with the *BHK* heritage using the L as its core text,[27] which is a criterion following Kahle's recommendation on the grounds that not only was L in accordance to the tradition of Aaron ben

[23] A. Scholz, *Der masorethische Text und die LXX-Uebersetzung des Buches Jeremias* (Regenburg: G. J. Manz, 1875), 12-21.
[24] George Coulson Workman, *The Text of Jeremiah: A Critical Investigation of the Greek and Hebrew with the Variations in the LXX. Retranslated into the Original and Explained* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1889), xxiii-xxiv.
[25] A. W. Streane, *The Double Text of Jeremiah (Masoretic and Alexandrian Compared): Together with an Appendix on the Old Latin Evidence* (Cambridge and London: Deighton Bell and Co. & George Bell and Sons, 1896), 1-25.
[26] Henry John Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek: According to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 11-12.
[27] Adrian Schenker, 'Foreword to the Fifth Edition', in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, ed. Karl Ellinger and Wilhelm Rudolph, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967/1997), xi; Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph, 'Foreword to the First Edition', in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, ed. Karl Ellinger and Wilhelm Rudolph, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967/1997), xii-xiv.

Asher, but it also represented the oldest complete manuscript of the OT/HB.[28]

Amongst many families engaged in Masoretic activity, Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali were the most influential ones, but the current form of the Tiberian system that we know nowadays, was probably designed by the former and acquired its authoritative status and stability after the appearance of the present printed bibles resulting in the standardisation of this system.[29] Nevertheless, since the Tiberian system reflects only one stream of a much wider tradition witnessed by multiple sources, the use of 𝔐-group or Masoretic Texts (plural) reflects the evidence more accurately than Masoretic Text (singular).[30]

Unlike the *BHS*/*BHQ*, the Greek text of Jeremiah edited by Ziegler known as *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum* (Göttingen, 1931-, 20 vols)[31] presents a different proposal. It attempts to provide a critical reconstruction of the 𝔊 as close as possible to the 'original' in a process involving the analysis of pertinent textual data without rejecting criterial conjecture, resulting in a textual mosaic made of the oldest tangible texts intending to reflect the 'original' translation of the Hebrew and Aramaic including works originally written in Greek.[32] More details about his methodological procedure applied to 𝔊-Jeremiah is available in a monograph, where Ziegler presents 'die textkritische Arbeit an der Ier.-LXX' and building mainly from Spohn's and Thackeray's contributions, he argues that 𝔊-Jeremiah 'nicht einheitlich ist'.[33] More specifically in terms of conjecture,

[28] Paul E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), 131-32.
[29] Mulder, 'Transmission', 105-108, 116.
[30] Tov, *Textual*, 24-25.
[31] Hereafter *Göttingen Edition*.
[32] 'Critical Editions of Septuagint/Old Greek Texts'. http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/editions.html
[33] Joseph Ziegler, *Beiträge zur Ieremias-Septuaginta*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I: Philologisch-historische Klasse. Jhrg. 1958, Nr. 2. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1958), 16.

Ziegler makes a distinction between 'Konjektures und umstrittene Textlesarten', defining the former as

> solche Lesarten, die in der uns bekannten Überrlieferung (bis jetzt) nicht bezeugt sind und auf Grund der hebr. Vorlage, des Kontextes, der Übersetzungsweise und der graphischen (und phonetischen) Näbe konjiziert, vermutet, erschlossen werden.[34]

The latter, by contrast, was restricted to readings from

> besonders vertrauenswürdigen alten Hss., manchmal von unverächtlichen jüngeren Hss. bezeugt werden, aber von manchen Textkritikern als ursprüngliche Textlesarten, von anderen als Varianten des Apparates beurteilt werden.[35]

The relationship between 'Transkriptionen' and the complex textual history of 𝔊-Jeremiah is also significant because it risks 'bei der Wiederherstellung der ursprünglichen Form besteht darin, daβ man zu leicht an 𝔐 angleicht'.[36] Indeed comparisons between the Greek and Hebrew versions of Jeremiah reveal important differences in which one of them is in terms of the doublets since although 'Dubletten stehen auch in 𝔐', 𝔊-Jeremiah 'hat diese Dubletten noch nicht in ihrer Vorlage gehabt; erst die jüngeren Übersetzer Aquila, Symmachus und Theodotion kennen sie, ferner Origenes, der sie gewöhnlich von 'drei' übernimmt'.[37] The debate about the use of article also requires special attention 'den bei der Textgestaltung steht man oft vor der Entscheidung, ob man den Artikel in den Text aufnehmen oder in den Apparat verweisen soll', but one can only make a decision after evaluating how each translator proceeded despite that such an assessment is challenging because the traditions available in the manuscripts (including later recensions) do not provide a clear picture.[38] After assessing the data, Ziegler presents the following conclusions, which lead him to delete the article whenever it agrees with 𝔐: (a) 'Ier. I' seems to use the article with more freedom than the second translator whilst 'Thr.-LXX im Anschluβ an 𝔐'; (b) 'Die

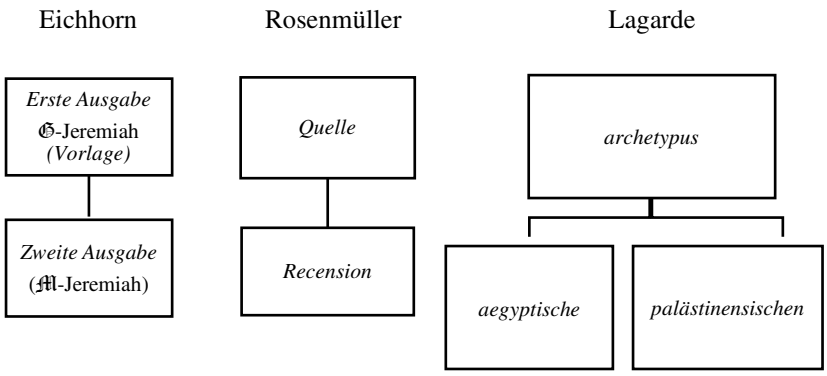
[34] Ziegler, *Beiträge,* 17-18.
[35] Ibid., 18.
[36] Ibid., 59.
[37] Ibid., 87.
[38] Ibid., 115.

Übersetzer sind in der Setzung des Artikels nicht konsequent' and as (c) 'die Gruppen und Rezensionen bezeugen, ist der Artikel eingedrungen, weil ihn eben die griech. Sprachregel verlangte'.[39] The last chapter is dedicated to the Church Father's quotation of 𝔊-Jeremiah, which Ziegler usually considers bad mainly because 'die ältesten Kirchenschriftsteller, die apostolischen Väter, frei mit dem Bibeltext umgehen, ebenso von den lateinischen späteren Vätern Filastrius und namentlich Hieronymus', although 'manche Zitate gar nicht frei sind, sondern eine Form voraussetzen, die anfänglich noch flüssig war, aber durch das häufige Zitieren allmählich fest wurde'.[40]

It would not be, however, an overstatement to say that the findings of the Judean Desert in 1947 represent an important watershed revolutionising biblical studies even though the assimilation of such discoveries was slowly incorporated in the field. Cross was perhaps the first one to point out that 4QJer^{b} and 4QJer^{d} were significantly close to 𝔊-Jeremiah in terms of brevity,[41] but it was Janzen's monograph, which argued that the 'zero variants' of 𝔊-Jeremiah strongly suggests that the Greek version preceded the expansionist Hebrew text,[42] that has impacted a number of scholars to move in this direction. To name just a few, Tov, Bogaert, Schenker, Goldman, Stipp, Piovanelli and Gonçalves have advocated that 𝔊- and 𝔐-Jeremiah respectively reflect two editions of the book.[43] As the impact of the DSS could not be

[39] Ibid., 167-69.
[40] Ibid., 171.
[41] F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*. *The Haskell Lectures 1956-1957*, 2nd ed. (Anchor Books: New York, 1961), 186-87.
[42] Janzen, *Studies*, 134-35.
[43] See E. Tov, 'L'Incidence de la Critique Textuelle sur la Critique Littéraire dans le Livre de Jérémie', *RB* 79 (1972):189-99; —, 'Exegetical Notes on the Hebrew Vorlage of the Qualities of the Additions of Jeremiah 27 (34)', *ZAW* 91 (1979):73-93; —, 'Aspects', 145-67; P.-M. Bogaert, 'La Tradition des Oracles et du Livre de Jérémie, des Origines au Moyen Âge', *RTL* 8 (1977):305-28; —, 'De Baruch à Jérémie. Le Deux Rédactions Conservées du Livre de Jérémie', in *Le Livre de Jérémie*, ed. P.-M. Bogaert, BETL 54 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 168-73; Adrian Schenker, 'Nebukadnezzars Metamorphose vom Unterjocher zum Gottesknecht: Das Bild Nebukadnezzars und einige mit ihm zusammenhängende Unterschiede in den beiden Jeremia-Rezensionen', *RB* 89 (1982):498-527; Y. Goldman, *Prophétie et Royauté au Retour de L'exil: Les Origines Littéraires de la Forme Massorétique du Livre de Jérémie*, OBO 118 (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 220;

ignored by the editorial board of the *BHS* due to the new vistas regarding the transmission of the texts of the OT/HB, it consequently resulted in a new project named *BHQ* with the goal of updating its predecessor in response to these significant changes.[44] Even so, one can still conclude that it would be a mistake to consider the Masoretic tradition a product of the medieval age since its consonantal text is already attested by Qumran fragments prior to the common era before 𝔐 being endorsed by the Masoretes.[45] Nonetheless, the discovery of DSS represents an important turning point impacting biblical studies, as before their findings virtually everything known about the OT/HB was based on medieval manuscripts and indirect access via ancient translations and paraphrases (e.g., 𝔐, 𐤌, 𝔊, 𝔖, 𝔗, 𝔙) reducing the task of textual criticism to a hierarchical evaluation of these witnesses with the objective of recovering the *Urtext*, as illustrated below.[46]



Stipp, *masoretische*, 90-91; P. Piovanelli, 'La Condamnation de La Diaspora Égyptienne dans le Livre de Jérémie (JrA 50,8-51,30)', *Trans* 9 (1995):35-49; F. J. Gonçalves, 'Baruc e Jeremias nas Duas Edições mais Antigas do Livro de Jeremias Conhecidas', *Didask* 35 (2005):85-115.

[44] Adrian Schenker et al., 'General Introduction,' in *Biblia Hebraica Quinta. First Fascicle. General Intro and Megilloth: Ruth, Canticles, Qoheleth, Lamentations, Esther,* ed. J. de Waard et al. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004), vii.

[45] Tov, *Textual*, 183; Mulder, 'Transmission', 100-101.

[46] Geza Vermes, *The Story of the Scrolls: The Miraculous Discovery and True Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Penguin Books, 2010), 20-42; C. D. Elledge, *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls, Archaeology and Biblical Studies*, SBL 14 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2005), 87-89; James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2012), 1-2; Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, Bey Weidmanns erben und Reich: 1787), 119-20; E. F. Rosenmüller, *Handbuch für die Literatur der Literatur der biblischen Kritik und Exegese*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vanderhoef und Ruprech, 1797), 247; Paul de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur Griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig: F. A. Broackhaus, 1863), 1-5.

As the DSS were gradually introduced, a new picture started coming to the surface and it soon became clearer that the textual situation during the Second Temple period was much more diverse than it was usually thought. Once the evidence from Qumran started being disclosed, it became more evident that 𝔐 was one of many textual forms of the OT/HB (e.g., proto-𝔐 alongside other texts resembling 𝔔𝔔𝔔 and 𝔊) in circulation during the antiquity and only at a later stage rabbinical Judaism gave 𝔐 its current authoritative status.[47] As Sæbo argues, 'in light of the available evidence today, the phantom of an assumed infallible "archetype" of the biblical text has no place anymore' since the biblical text travels through an extensive and complex process in which ancient Israelite traditions were converted into a pluriform text, which converged 'to a uniformity' represented in the end of the process by a superior sacred and authoritative text.[48] Such textual variety reflects the coexistence of diverse currents of Judaism characterised by their respective theological and ideological agenda under the rubric Judaism during the Second Temple period, as Sacchi correctly observes,[49] although Boccaccini prefers to refer to them as Middle Judaism between 300 BCE and 200 CE since the period of the Second Temple already started three centuries earlier.[50] But despite the evidence of such diversity, some conservative quarters still hold to the assumption of an 'original autograph' minimizing the presence of

[47] See Shemaryahu Talmon, 'The Old Testament Text', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginning to Jerome*, ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 159-64; A. Schenker, 'Est-ce que le Livre de Jérémie fut Publié dans une Édition Refondue au 2e Siècle? La Multiplicité Textuelle peut-elle Coexister avec L'édition Unique d'Un Livre Biblique ?' *Un Carrefour dans L'Histoire de La Bible : Du Texte à la Théologie au IIe Siècle avant J.-C.*, ed. Hinnocent Himbaza and Adrian Schenker, OBO 233 (Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 58-74; E. Ulrich 'The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books', in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman and Eileen Schuller. STDJ 92 (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2010), 210.

[48] Magne Sæbø, *On the Way to Canon: Creative Tradition History in the Old Testament*, JSOT Sup 191 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 36-46.

[49] Paolo Sacchi, *Storia del Secondo Tempio: Israele tra VI Secolo a.C. e I Secolo d.C.* (Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1994), 282.

[50] Gabriele Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought 300 B.C.E to 200 C.E.* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991), 18-25.

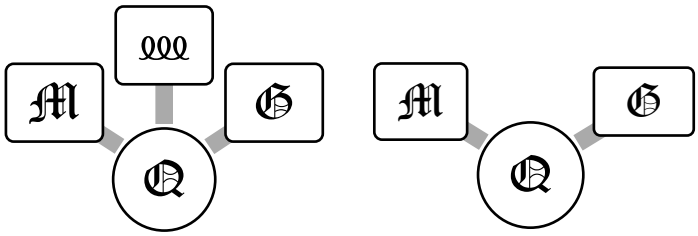
remarkable variants.[51] Martin's work, however, offers an important contribution in the sense that he observes that the various textual traditions of the OT/HB have equal authority to their respective communities and are highly influenced by theological decisions.[52]

Another aspect explored by Martin's approach is the effect of orality in textual criticism, where ambiguities in variants of ancient text reveal a multivalence that allows the reader to find more than one possible meaning at the same time.[53] Such a proposal is not new, as it resonates with Person's view where he suggests that the variations between 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah may be the fruit of oral traditional comprehension of a 'word or unit of meaning' since they are not necessarily transmitted word by word.[54]

Whilst orality may have an impact on textual transmission and reception, the fact that the scribes responsible for the transmission of these texts were highly literate raise some challenges for an exclusive oral solution. Furthermore, an oral explanation for such discrepancies still cannot deny the reality of the coexistence of diverse textual traditions attested by the DSS, which gradually weakened the notion of a *Urtext*. This was something already challenged by Kahle's 'vulgar texts', where he compares diverging medieval manuscripts found in Geniza with ancient translations and rabbinic writings suggesting that various distinctive recensions were in circulation before the first

[51] For example, Ralph W. Klein, *Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: From the Septuagint to Qumran*, OTSGBS (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1974), vii; Bruce K. Waltke, 'Aims of Old Testament Textual Criticism', *WTJ* 51 (1989):93-108; Ellis R. Brotzman, *Old Testament Textual Criticism: A Practical Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1994), 62 to name few. Archer, however, accepts that both versions were at some point authoritative and does not claim an 'original autograph', his position echoes some of Eichhorn's arguments but in practice sides with Spohn's in terms of the translation mistake and consequently is in favour of the priority of the Masoretic text cf. Gleason L. Archer, 'The Relationship between the Septuagint Translation and the Massoretic Text in Jeremiah', *TrinJ* 12 (1991):139-50.
[52] Gary D. Martin, *Multiple Originals: New Approaches to Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism*, SBL 7 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2010), 265-70.
[53] Martin, *Multiple*, 97-98, 133-36.
[54] Raymond F. Person Jr., 'A Rolling Corpus and Oral Tradition: A Not-So-Literate Solution to a Highly Literate Problem', in *Troubling Jeremiah*, ed. A. R. Pete, Kathleen M. O'Connor and Louis Stulman, JSOTSup 260 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 267.

century CE.[55] With this in mind, former theories were then reshaped giving birth to new influential ones, such as Cross's theory of local texts endorsed by Albright, Skehan and others, which suggests three places of origin: Palestine, Egypt and Babylon.[56] These new influences are perceptible in the current tendency of organising Qumran fragments into types following a tripartite or bipartite division,[57] as illustrated in graphs and table below. [58]



𝔐	𝔔	𝔊
	2Q13/2QJer	
42:7-11	Frag. 1	
42:14	2	
43:8-11	3-4	
44:1-3	5	
44:12-14	6	
46:27–47:2	7-8	
48:7	9 i	
48:25-39	9 ii-12	
48:43-45	13 i	
49:10?	13 ii	
13:22?	14	
32:24-25?	15	
48:2-4?	16	
48:41-42	17	
?	18-27	
	4Q70/4QJer[a]	
7:1-2	Col. I	
7:15-19	II	
7:28–9:2	III	

[55] Kahle, *Geniza*, 235-39.
[56] Frank M. Cross, 'The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts', in *International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies and the SBL Pseudepigrapha Seminar, 1972 Proceedings*, ed. R. A. Kraft (Missoula, Mont: SBL, 1972), 108-26. W. F. Albright, 'New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible', *BASOR* 140 (1955):27-33; Patrick W. Skehan, 'The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Text of the Old Testament', *BA* 28 (1965):87-100.
[57] Tov, *Textual*, 157-58.
[58] Table adapted from Tov, 'Aspects', 145-47; Brooke, G. J. 'The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception in the Qumran Scrolls', in *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception*, ed. A. H. W. Curtis and T. Römer, BETL 128 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 184-87; Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*, vol. 1 (1Q1–4Q273) (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill, 1999), 212, 270-72.

9:7-15	IV	
10:9-14, 23	V	
11:3-6, 19-20	VI	
12:3-7, 13-16	VII	
12:17–13:7, 22?	VIII	
13:27; 14:4-7	IX	
15:1-2	X	
17:8-26	XI	
18:15–19:1	XII	
20:14-18; 21:1?	XIII	
22:3-16	XIV	
26:10?	XV	
unidentified	Frag. 37-50	
	4Q71/4QJer[b]	9:22–10:21
	4Q72/4QJer[c]	
4:5	Col. I	
4:13-16	II	
8:1-3	III	
8:21–9:5	IV	
10:12-13	V	
19:8-9	VI	
20:2-5	VII	
20:7-9	VIII	
20:13-15	IX	
21:7-10	X	
22:4-6	XI	
22:10-17	XII	
22:17-28	XIII	
25:7-8	XIV	
25:15-17	XV	
25:24-26	XVI	
26:10-13	XVII	
27:1-3	XVIII	
27:13-15	XIX	
30:6-9	XX	
30:17–31:4	XXI	
31:4-14	XXII	
31:19-26	XXIII	
33:16-20	XXV	
	4Q72[a]/4QJer[d]	43:2-10
50:4-6	4Q72[b]/4QJer[e]	

However insightful these new theories may be, they are still not free from objections. For example, Tov argues that Kahle's use of the term 'recension' was rather terminological than conceptual on the grounds that he thought the current 𝔐 form was fruit of revisional activity of earlier texts during a rabbinical council in Jamnia around 100 CE,[59] which is different from Eichhorn's early proposal. Talmon, however, questions whether such a council ever occurred and also challenges Cross's historical reconstruction regarding Jews in Babylonia alongside the skills in literacy amongst Egyptian Jews adding that not all Hebrew *Vorlage* of 𝔊 should be automatically be considered from Egyptian origins.[60] Another major issue pointed by Goshen-Gottstein

[59] Tov, *Textual*, 156-57.
[60] Talmon, 'Old', 179, 193-99.

is that the discrepancies between medieval manuscripts and pre-medieval ones could not be seen as genetically dependent since they are typologically different,[61] which is suggested by the different length and organisation of 𝔊- and 𝔐-Jeremiah.

The priority of 𝔊-Jeremiah, however, is not a unanimous position amongst Jeremiah's scholars and not immune of criticism. Levin, for instance, claims that such an explanation oversimplifies the problem without considering the plural multi-layered tradition.[62] Even though Tov correctly notices the fluidity between textual criticism and literary criticism, Levin argues that the reverse is also true, adding that the old suggestion that the 𝔊-Jeremiah abbreviates the longer 𝔐-Jeremiah cannot be easily dismissed; furthermore, the fact that 4QJer^{b} does not exactly represent 𝔊-Jeremiah but an ancestor which the Masoretic text tends to expand whilst its Greek counterpart is inclined to shorten it.[63] Additionally, Fischer points out that other fragments resembling 𝔐-Jeremiah were also found with 4Q71.[64] Like Levin, Schmid admits the paradoxical situation created by 𝔊-Jeremiah. According to the procedures of historical critical methods, the Greek version would only have value for the book's reception history but in terms of a holistic view of the OT/HB the separation between textual criticism and literary criticism is not viable since the discrepancies between the two versions cannot be restricted to the transmission history, as 𝔊-Jeremiah also gives a clue to the pre-history of the book.[65] For both Levin and Schmid, 𝔐- is generally closer to the 'original *Urtext*' than 𝔊-Jeremiah. This is because the Greek text violated the principle of the complete transmission of the canonical text by omitting some passages

[61] M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts: Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition', *Bib* 48 (1967):243-46.
[62] Christoph Levin, *Die Verheißung des Neuen Bundes: in ihren theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt*, FRLANT 137 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 69-71.
[63] Levin, *Verheißung*, 71.
[64] G. Fischer 'Zum Text des Jeremiabuches', *Bib* 78 (1997):306-313.
[65] Konrad Schmid, *Buchgestalten des Jeremiabuches: Untersuchungen zur Redaktions- und Rezeptionsgeschichte von Jer 30–33 im Kontext des Buches*, WMANT 72 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996), 15-18.

and also due to it its own development. Such aspects obfuscate the task of literary criticism.[66] In this sense, Fischer even claims that the testimony from the 'Baruch's bulla' alongside citations of other biblical passages within Jeremiah and quotations of Jeremiah in extrabiblical sources are closer to the Hebrew text than its Greek counterpart and he adds that when the transmission of Q and K in 𝔐- is compared with 𝔊-Jeremiah, the careful process of copying amongst the scribes that preserved 𝔐-Jeremiah becomes evident.[67] One of the recurrent arguments against the use of 𝔊-Jeremiah, which goes back to Spohn, is based on the translation effect. Despite praising Janzen's findings, Soderlund challenges the premise that the shorter text should always be given priority, arguing that Janzen minimized the effect of the translation alongside its context.[68] This aspect is endorsed by Fischer as he argues that the *lectio brevior* and greater cohesion criterion are not satisfactory to assure the priority of 𝔊-Jeremiah because of the influence of translation and the ambiguous criteria regarding cohesion.[69] For Schmid, as the translator of 𝔊-Jeremiah provides a synchronic interpretation, it consequently raises more challenges to identify different layers in the translation.[70] Such reluctance in using the Greek version for literary critical analysis is also shared by Gesundheit. Although his analysis is limited to Jeremiah 25, he argues that 𝔊-Jeremiah seems to be aware of all later literary layers available in 𝔐-Jeremiah adding that whilst there are tensions involving phrases and verses in the latter, the former indicates significant harmonisation and stylistic unification, which makes it impossible to reconstruct the *Vorlage* of Jeremiah's early stage based only on the Greek version.[71]

[66] Levin, *Verheißung*, 71-72; Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 15-20.
[67] Fischer, 'Text', 313-19.
[68] Sven Soderlund, *The Greek Text of Jeremiah: A Revised Hypothesis*, JSOTSup 47 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 247-48.
[69] Fischer 'Text', 306-13.
[70] Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 20.
[71] Shimon Gesundheit, 'The Question of LXX Jeremiah as a Tool for Literary-Critical Analysis', *VT* 62 (2012):29-57.

However, the fact that extrabiblical evidence witnesses the widespread distribution of 𝔐-Jeremiah by no means undermines the weight of textual plurality attested by the DSS in which 4Q72[a]/4QJer[d] should also be included amongst those fragments resembling 𝔊-Jeremiah. Such phenomenon can be explained in terms of historical coincidence in which other text after the first century C.E. did not survive the Jewish War[72] or even in light of the reverence to this particular textual tradition which later would become canonised.[73] Whilst Stulman also acknowledges that apart from few expansions in 𝔐-Jeremiah, shared texts associated with Deuteronomistic writings and traditions are entirely represented in the early Greek version, he argues that this suggests that the Deuteronomistic thought was already familiar during the exilic period.[74] Stulman, however, observes that there are more occurrences of Deuteronomistic additions in 𝔊- than in the later 𝔐-Jeremiah insertions, which by contrast, do not present such Deuteronomistic additions in a small number of passages considered by some scholars as part of the later Hebrew version.[75]

The issue of translation certainly is something that should not be played down, as translations always reflects one's own interpretation, as the famous phrase 'traduttore, traditore' in reference to the dispute involving the translation of Dante's work between Italians and French during the Renaissance well illustrates such concerns. Nonetheless, one may also argue that the argument against translation has also often been overgeneralised without considering that there are variations of interpretative strategies, such as paraphrases, literal and free translations. With the aid of computer-generated data Tov and Wright observe that the translations of literary works like Job and Proverbs are mainly free translations whilst Qoheleth, Song of Songs, 2 Kings, Ezra

[72] Tov, *Textual*, 175.
[73] Mulder, 'Transmission', 103-104.
[74] Louis Stulman, *The Prose Sermons of the Book of Jeremiah: A Redescription of the Correspondences with the Deuteronomistic Literature in the Light of Recent Text-Critical Research*, SBL Dissertation Series 83 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1982), 145.
[75] Stulman, *Prose*, 145.

and Nehemiah are significantly literal and although other writings, such as Ruth, Jeremiah and 2 Samuel do not follow the same consistency as the translation of Qoheleth, they still can be considered as fairly literal.[76] However, if that is the case, then, one might ask whether the translators of the 𝔊-Jeremiah could well have a different *Vorlage* from that represented by the Hebrew version. The fact that Jeremiah's Greek version seems to adopt an isomorphic criterion reinforces such a suspicion,[77] which according to Stipp, confirms that the type of translation adopted by Jer*AIT* alongside 4QJer[b] and 4QJer[d] strongly support that the translators based their translation on a different text from that presented in 𝔐-Jeremiah.[78] This seems clearer when Stipp mentions that 𝔊-Jeremiah was:

> im wesentlichen durch eine Wort-für-Wort-Übertragung hergestelt. Sie entspringt allem Anschein nach einer ziemlich mechanischen Prozedur, die nicht von theologischem Gestaltungswillen geleitet war, sondern Routinen folge der Art: "Wenn das hebräische Wort X aufritt, ersetze es durch das griechische Äquivalent Y".[79]

Stipp's preference for 𝔊-Jeremiah also is based on the fact that most pluses in 𝔐-Jeremiah 'bestehen also im wesentlichen aus der Ausbreitung und Variation vorhandenen Sprachmaterials' inserted in the existing text in which particularly the addition of prose material affected the flow of the poetic passages, occasionally even corrupting the grammatical structure of the text.[80] For Stipp, such interferences have direct effects in the organisation of 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah and also supports the priority of the latter since the words of doom in Jer 25:13 seem to link with the OAN without an abrupt interruption whilst the

[76] Although 𝔊-Jeremiah is not ranked at the top of their table because it does not present the same consistency of literal translation as other books, Tov and Wright still consider it 'relatively literal' cf. Emanuel Tov and B. C. Wright, 'Computer-Assisted Study of the Criteria for Assessing the Literalness of Translation Units in the LXX', *Text* 12 (1985):185.
[77] Andrew G. Shead, 'Jeremiah', in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 474.
[78] Stipp uses the term Jer*AIT* to refer to the text in which 𝔊-Jeremiah derived from cf. Stipp, *masoretische*, 1-6, 59.
[79] Ibid., 20.
[80] Ibid., 98-99.

phrase ואת כל־הממלכות הארץ in 𝔐-Jer 25:26 is clearly secondary.[81] Based on this literalness, Stulman attempts to offer a more recent reconstruction of the prose section of 𝔊-Jeremiah despite that Workman already presented an earlier one. Stulman's reconstruction is based on Tov's model and uses Ziegler's critical edition as his base text.[82] For him, the first step for a comparison between the two versions of Jeremiah must have a retroversion of the Greek text before such contrast takes place, although he stresses that this retroversion does not give access to the 'original text' but only to the one used by the translator.[83] The fact that a translation reflects a considerable degree of literalness, however, does not mean that the translator has no influence besides the fact that after the translation materialises, it is subjected to changes during its own history of transmission. This is why 𝔊-Jeremiah stands on a tension between two fields, textual and literary criticism, requiring a delicate balance which Shead seems to present. For him, 𝔐- and the *Vorlage* of 𝔊-Jeremiah are a recessional product of the same origin, although the former developed further than the latter; however, as both also participate in a literary/transmission history, which accentuates the differences between them, they should not be radically separated.[84]

Still, despite the advances made possible by the DSS, Tov notices that L continues to play the protagonist role as the base text, which would be understandable for students of the Tiberian Hebrew or the Masoretic history since this tradition does reflect the 'best' preserved text of the OT/HB, occupying a central place in Judaism.[85] Such protagonism of the medieval Masoretic strata, however, might lead one to miss crucial data in ancient manuscripts (e.g., 𝔊 and the DSS, even

[81] Ibid., 84-85.
[82] Louis Stulman, *The Other Text of Jeremiah: A Reconstruction of the Hebrew Text Underlying the Greek Version of the Prose Sections of Jeremiah with English Translation* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1985), 8-9.
[83] Stulman, *Other*, 8-10.
[84] Andrew G. Shead, *The Open Book and the Sealed Book: Jeremiah 32 in Its Hebrew and Greek Recensions*, JSOTSup 347 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 255-63.
[85] Tov, *Textual*, 365.

though this information is made available in the apparatus), giving the impression 'that 𝔐 is *the* main representative of Scripture *that was circulating in antiquity*' without educating 'future generations towards an *egalitarian* approach to all textual sources'.[86] In this sense, no printed edition (including the *BHS*) should be equated to the Bible since they all reflect one of many textual traditions; therefore, 'the so-called *Biblia Hebraica* edition is not a *Biblia Hebraica*' in a more exact sense, 'but a *Biblia Masoretica*. So far, there is no real *Biblia Hebraica* in existence, unless one considers the details in the apparatus of the *BH* series as representing all the sources behind them'.[87]

2.2. Theories of Composition: From an Atomised Literary to an Organic Literary Criticism[88]

In the same way that interest in textual issues was already present amongst earlier interpreters of the Bible, critical inquiries about its genesis were also visible amongst pre-modern exegetes, such as Calvin, Rashi, Kimhi and many others who long before Modernity demonstrated highly sophisticated readings of the biblical texts in their own time.[89] As the extract from the Talmud below reveals, such regards were not restricted to textual problems:

> תנו רבנן סדרן של נביאים יהושע ושופטים שמואל ומלכים ירמיה ויחזקאל ישעיה
> ושנים עשר [...] מכדי ישעיה קדים מירמיה ויחזקאל ליקדמיה לישעיה ברישא כיון
> דמלכים סופיה חורבנא וירמיה כוליה חורבנא ויחזקאל רישיה חורבנא וסיפיה נחמתא

[86] Ibid., 365.
[87] Ibid., 365.
[88] The use of the adjective 'atomised' in reference to the term 'literary criticism' is adopted here with the purpose of distinguishing it from the wider use of the term in the previous section, as this term used to be employed in the past in reference to 'source criticism' and was referred in old literature as 'higher criticism' in contrast to 'lower criticism' represented by 'textual criticism' and should not be confused with the French *critique littéraire*, which shall be discussed in the next section cf. John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study*, 2nd ed. (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1996), 20-22. Norman Habel, *Literary Criticism of the Old Testament*, OTSGBS (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1971) is a good illustration of the use of the term representing source criticism.
[89] On this topic, note John Rogerson, 'An Outline of the History of Old Testament Study', in *Beginning Old Testament Study,* ed. John Rogerson, 2nd ed. (London: SPCK, 1998), 6-24.

וישעיה כוליה נחמתא סמכינן חורבנא לחורבנא ונחמתא לנחמתא: [...] ירמיה כתב ספרו וספר מלכים וקינות [...].[90]

Not only did the rabbis preserve a pre-Masoretic order of their scriptures, but they also attempted to justify such an organisation based on a judgment/consolation rationale. Additionally, it may be possible that remarkable similarities between 2 Kgs 25:27-30 and Jer 52:31:34 might have led them to consider Jeremiah and Kings written by the same author. But despite the presence of questions regarding textual, historical and intertextual issues amongst pre-modern biblical interpreters long before the dominance of diachronic approaches under the umbrella of the formerly so-called 'historical criticism',[91] modern biblical scholars developed a set of important critical tools for the study of the Bible[92] even though they were children of their own time and their interpretation was more influenced by their own view than they were aware or would admit.

Such archetypical innovations studies initially occurred with the visible implementation of historical-critical methods in the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets before their application to the Classical Prophets. Studies in Jeremiah studies were not isolated from this context and their forerunner were immensely indebted to this legacy. Duhm is widely recognised as the one who inaugurated modern critical studies in Jeremiah under Wellhausen's same *modus operandi*. Whilst the latter employed source criticism in the study of the Pentateuch proposing that it was formed by four sources (Jehovist, Elohist,

[90] *B. Bat*. 14b-15ª.

[91] Movements like the Renaissance and the Reformation alongside philosophical autonomy from the dominance of a centralised religious authority opened the doors to the methods of historical criticism. For an overview of the appearance of the historical-critical method. See Edgar Krentz, *The Historical-Critical Method* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1975), 6-32 and David R. Law, *The Historical-Critical Method: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: T&T Clark International, 2012), 25-80. Barton, however, questions whether the term 'historical critical' fairly reflects the integral task of biblical studies and if it can be considered a method cf. John Barton, *The Nature of Biblical Criticism* (Louisville, KY and London: WJK, 2007), 29-68.

[92] I also provide an extensive evaluation of the heritage of modern criticism in Jeremiah studies in Anderson Yan, 'O Legado dos Estudos Críticos Modernos em Jeremias', *Caminh* 24 (2019):167-89.

Deuteronomiums and Priesterkodex),[93] the former, in a similar fashion, argued that Jeremiah was essentially formed by four sources (die prophetischen Gedichte Jeremias, das Buch des Baruch and die Ergänzungen zu den Schriften Jeremias und Baruch), claiming that the book 'ist also langsam gewachsen, fast wie unbeaufsichtiger Wald wächst und sich ausbreit'.[94] Duhm's source division separated Jeremiah into the following criteria: 280 words (mostly in lyrics) in 3/2 rhythm attributed to the young prophet under the influence of Hosea; other 220 words featuring 'einen mehr chronikartigen Eindruck' credited to Baruch were not in their original order and probably existed as an independent literature before being incorporated within Jeremiah; the remainder 850 verses in the supplement, however, did not find the same appreciation since they appeared ahistorical and highly theological resembling the retributive theology of the Torah. Despite their sermonic shape in most cases, sometimes they emerged in form of stories or small addition of contents.[95]

Whilst Duhm was evidently impacted by Wellhausen, Mowinckel's early stage was unquestionably indebted to Gunkel who not only was broadly known as the father of form criticism, but his name was also strongly associated with the school of religions.[96] Unlike source criticism, form criticism was interested in the pre-literary phases of the biblical material, focusing on the *Gattungen* and their *Sitz in Leben*.[97] Still, the fact that Mowinckel used Gunkel's insights does not mean that he abandoned source criticism but this combination enabled him to advance beyond his predecessor's contribution. Despite some similarities, Mowinckel openly criticised his contemporaries for just

[93] Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschchite Israels,* 5th ed. (Berlin: Druck and Verlarg von Georg Reimer, 1899), 1-14.
[94] Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, KHCAT (Tübingen and Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901), xi-xx.
[95] Duhm, *Jeremia*, xii-xx.
[96] Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis*, GHLAT (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1922) gave careful attention to the legends behind the sources introduced by Wellhausen and his *Einleitung in die Psalmen: Die Gattungen der religionen Lyrik Israels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933), which was completed by Jehoachin Begrich, worked on different types of material, belonging to the same family.
[97] Barton, *Reading*, 30-34.

reproducing the same methods applied to the Pentateuch in the prophetic writings which for him 'sind Sammlerwerke, wie es die Evangelien sind', but unlikely an essay, prophetical oracles are 'eine ekstatische Vision, eine enthusiastisch fließende Rede' and they are full of 'anschaulichen Bildern, in halb mystischen Andeutungen, in krampfhalf zuckenden, lose aneinander gereihten Worten'.[98] In Mowinckel's conception, Jeremiah was formed by four sources (A-B-C-D) distributed in chapters 1–45 and, like Isaiah 40–66, Jeremiah 46–52 were a later appendix.[99]

Apart from editorial changes alongside textual corruption, source A corresponded to the *ipsissima verba Jeremiae*, but unlike Duhm, this was a collection of the prophet's oracles faithfully preserved by a collector. Here Gunkel's influence is visibly perceptible by the way Mowinckel treats his sources, as style *per se* was not enough evidence for attributing a particular material to a specific source. This is clear when Mowinckel criticises Duhm's dogmatic formula, which imposes that 'Jir. nur das Fünfermetrum gebrauchen darf'.[100]

Despite agreeing with Duhm that sources A and B were mostly in different genres, Mowinckel maintains that what distinguishes one from another is not the genre but their content, as it is occasionally possible to find some instances where A does not occur in rhythmic form (e.g., Jer 1:4-10) and other instances in which B might not appear in as a prose narrative (e.g., Jer 43:8-13).[101] Thus, the main differences between both are:

> A will eine möglichst vollständige Sammlung der Weissagungen geben, B möglichst viele Notizen und Mitteilungen über Jir. selbst. A erstrebt nur Vollständigkeit in der Überlieferung der Worte; B dagegen will zeigen, wie Gottes Wort und der Heldenmut und die Treue des Propheten sich betätigen und ihr Recht behalten; A gibt nur eine lose Aneinanderreihung; B erstrebt, wenn auch nicht immer mit Glück, ein

[98] Sigmund Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia*, Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter. II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. 1913. N. 5. (Kristiania: In Kommission bei Jacob Dybwad, 1914), 3-4.
[99] Mowinckel, *Komposition*, 14-17.
[100] Ibid., 18-22.
[101] Ibid., 20, 27-28.

> zusammenhängende und chronologisch geordnete Erzählung, A ist das Werk eines Redaktors, B das eines Verfassers.[102]

Mowinckel describes the style of B as 'der Sagenerzählung beeinflußte geschichtliche Erzählung, die wir z. B. aus den Büchern Samuelis kennen' but instead of a historian work, it reflects more like 'eine Geschichtenerzählung'.[103] Source C, however, is spread between A and B and has parallels with both merging them artificially as a unity. Yet there are two main aspects in C: 'den göttlichen Ursprung' and 'das Datum des betreffenden Wortes, bezw. der Rede angeben, so sind jene die möglichst kurzen Inhaltsangaben', but linguistically, the speeches found in C are monotonous, resembling 'Die Sprache zeigt eine auffällig große Ähnlichkeit mit der "deuteronomischen" Sprache der redaktionellen Partien von Dtn.'[104] Nonetheless, despite similarities between A, B and C, they also have distinctive points. Sources B and C are in form of prose but whereas the former is interested in 'die biographischen und geschichtlichen Daten', the latter focuses on 'die Reden des Jir'.[105] Although A and C may sometimes overlap in content (e.g., condemnatory discourse against idolatry), A exposes the theme mainly through oracles while C introduces the topic using speeches along the lines of Deuteronomy.[106]

Another anonymous source (D) containing 'Worte als Heilsweissagungen gekennzeichnet' can be found in Jeremiah 30–31, as it 'selbständige, in sich abgeschlossene Sammlung bilden, geht daraus hervor, daß sie inhaltlich einen einheitlichen Gedanken zum Ausdruck bringen und ein besonderes, Thema erschöpfen wollen'.[107] D belonged to the postexilic period and was inserted later in $R^{A\text{-}B\text{-}C}$ on the basis that these words of hope had the purpose of 'ein Zeugnis für die Zukunft, da Jhwh das Heil bringen wird'.[108] Mowinckel's main justification to reject these texts as genuine was due to 'die

[102] Ibid., 28.
[103] Ibid., 24.
[104] Ibid., 32-34.
[105] Ibid., 34-45.
[106] Ibid., 34-45.
[107] Ibid., 45-47.
[108] Ibid., 45-46.

Gleichstellung Ephraim = Israel ist zu deutlich', which was in resonance with Duhm, as he argued that:

> Daß der Verfasser von 30,3. 31,26 kein wirklicher Prophet ist und die von ihm mitgeteilten Orakel nicht selbst verfaßt hat, sondern lediglich ein Redaktor und Bearbeiter älterer Weissagungen ist, der den Mantel des Propheten literarisch angelegt hat, ist völlig klar.[109]

Over three decades later, however, Mowinckel changed some of his ideas, particularly in terms of sources B and C, and advanced his view on the dynamics between oral and written traditions under the influence of the Scandinavian scholarship arguing that 'in the transmission of the sayings of Jeremiah and of the tradition about him, therefore, […] oral and written tradition have from the beginning gone hand in hand together'.[110] Mowinckel initially diverted from Duhm considering B from an anonymous writer, but he changed his opinion later stating that 'these narratives originated from Baruch himself, is extremely probable, not so certain'.[111] In terms of C material, however, Mowinckel claimed that:

> These prose speeches are neither planned literary, 'editorial' adaptations of an existing book, as held by Duhm, nor as a separate literary 'source', as previously maintained by the present author, but they represent exactly a circle of tradition of their own, within which certain of the sayings by Jeremiah have been transmitted and transformed according to the ideas and the style which prevailed in the circle, exactly the deuteronomistic ideas and forms of style and interests.[112]

Arguably one may say that if Mowinckel's *Komposition* gave the impression that he was reacting against the limitation of source criticism, then his *Prophecy and Tradition* seems to respond to the saturation of form criticism.[113] Nevertheless, despite Mowinckel's advances, he never abandoned source critical approach, as Nielsen correctly observed in his analysis of Jeremiah 36, which was based on the history of traditions.[114] Yet Mowinckel's statement above perhaps

[109] Ibid., 47.
[110] Sigmund Mowinckel, *Prophecy and Tradition: The Prophetic Books in Light of the Study of the Growth and History of the Tradition*, AUNV (Oslo: Jacob Dywad, 1946), 5-20, 62.
[111] Mowinckel, *Prophecy*, 61.
[112] Ibid., 62.
[113] Ibid., 42-60.
[114] Nielsen, Eduard, 'Jeremja og Jojakim', *DTT* 13 (1950):129-45.

provided the seeds for later proposals of Jeremiah's Deuteronomistic redaction observing the limits of form critical analysis, although even after changing his position, Mowinckel's classic A-B-C division still continued influencing some scholars for a while. Such an impact can be noticed in Rudolph's statement below:

> Es war die von Duhm […] angebahnte Entdeckung Mowinckels (zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia, 1914), daß es noch eine Gruppe von Abschnitten im Jeremiabuch gibt, die formal und inhaltlich einander so ähnlich sind, daß sie ebenfalls einmal eine Sonderquelle gebildet haben müssen, die jetzt in dem Buche verarbeitet ist. Wir haben demnach 3 große Gruppen zu unterscheiden.[115]

Except for some small modifications, Rudolph's three sources (die Sprüche Jeremias, die Erzählungüber Jeremia and Reden Jeremias in deuteronomischer Bearbeitung) virtually reproduced Mowinckel's model. Besides the absence of Mowinckel's source D, Rudolph does not consider the 'Reden Jeremias in deuteronomischer Bearbeitung' as a distortion of Jeremiah's words, as he argues that:

> daß sie andererseits keine freien Schöpfungen sind, sondern auf echten Aussagen Jeremias fußen, ergibt sich nicht nur daraus, daß mehrmals (7 $_{28}$f. 11 $_{15}$f. 16 $_{16}$f.) ursprüngliche Jeremiaworte wörtlich aufgenommen werden, sondern auch daraus, daß in der Hälfte der Fälle (11 $_{5}$f. $_{9}$ 16 $_{1}$ 17 $_{19}$ 18 $_{3.}$ $_{5}$ 35 $_{3}$ff.) Selbstberichte Jeremias zugrunde liegen, die aber nicht der Quelle A zugerechnet werden können, eben weil sie die deuteronomische Bearbeitung aufweisen.[116]

The dramatic change from an atomistic to a more organic analysis of biblical texts, nevertheless, was certainly influenced by scholars like Von Rad and Noth since both started embarking towards the *Überlieferungsgeschichte*[117] around the same time in which Mowinckel began to change his mind about his C source. Mowinckel's frustration towards form criticism seems evident when he mentioned that this method lacked 'synthesis' and failed to consider the prophetic books in their 'wholeness'.[118] Despite acknowledging the presence of multiple independent traditions in the Hexateuch (Genesis–Joshua),

[115] Wilhelm Rudolph, *Jeremia,* HAT 12 (Tübingen: J. C. M. Mohr Paul Siebeck, 1947), xiii.
[116] Rudolph, *Jeremia*, xiii-xv.
[117] Rolf Rendtorff, 'Martin Noth and Tradition Criticism', in *History of Israel's Traditions: The Heritage of Martin Noth,* ed. Steven L. McKenzie and M. Patrick Graham, JSOTSup 182 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 93.
[118] Mowinckel, *Prophecy*, 42-60.

Von Rad advocated that such traditions, once independent, were united to a *Kredo* in which their original *Sitz in Leben* were absorbed into the Yahwistic theological interpretation of history (*Heilsgeschichte*).[119] Similarly, Noth shifted from a fragmentary view to a perspective that considered the biblical texts as a literary unit and the collector of such traditions was now seen as the author; Deuteronomy, thus, was no longer considered as an addendum of the Tetrateuch, (Genesis–Numbers), but instead, it triggered the *deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk* (Joshua–2 Kings), which was completed c. 600 BCE.[120] Knight, therefore, correctly argues that such a paradigmatic change in the studies of the OT/HB can be credited to both Von Rad and Noth, as the former 'concentrates on the synthesizing forward movement from early stages to the 'Endstatium' while the latter proceeds analysing 'from the final state back into the earliest stages and returning again to the final product'.[121]

Nonetheless, although the term *Überlieferungsgeschichte* can already be found in the works of Gunkel, Mowinckel, Von Rad and Noth, Rendtorff argues that Noth should be considered the founder of the method called tradition history, as he was the first one to coin the technical term.[122] Curiously, however, is the fact that the term tradition history occurs with more frequency in studies of the OT/HB while redaction criticism appears more often in NT studies.[123] Still, Rylaardsdam and Barton claim that the task of both are pretty much the same, as both benefit from the contribution of source and form criticisms and aim to provide a synthesis of the whole compositional

[119] Gerhard Von Rad, 'Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch', *BWANT* 4 (1938):37-68.
[120] Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die Sammelden und Bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testamente*, 1st vol. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), 91.
[121] Douglas A. Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel,* SBL 16, 3rd ed. (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2006), 77, 130-34.
[122] Rolf Rendtorff, 'Noth', 93.
[123] A relevant point in Von Rad's new approach is the importance of his network with colleagues, who were applying redaction criticism to the NT cf. Lawson G. Stone, 'Redaction Criticism, Wither, and Why? Or, Going Beyond Source and Form Criticism without Leaving them Behind', *LTQ* 27 (1992):109-110.

process.[124] This is evident in Stone's observation, as he points out that both Von Rad and Noth elevate the status of the redactors from mere compilers to theological authors with visible freedom and creativity, transforming ancient traditions according to their theological preferences.[125] If one can find an essential difference between tradition history and redaction criticism, such a distinction would probably be the place of oral tradition in the former, which according to Nielsen's response to the limitation of the rigid literary approach of source criticism, he argued that the role of oral tradition within the tradition history should not be reduced to a pre-literary stage, as oral and written traditions coexisted.[126] Collins, by contrast, considers redaction criticism as the attempt of figuring out how a particular literary corpus has been reorganised through modifications resulting into a book. For him, such a process is the redaction or editing whilst those responsible for this operation are the redactors or editors.[127] Arguably, however, it is within this change of perception that the term 'literary criticism' ceased to be used in an atomistic sense and started to be employed more holistically and interchangeably with the term 'redaction criticism' in German scholarship.

Still and all, Von Rad's new attitude to the role of the redactor alongside Noth's notion of Deuteronomistic history had a direct impact on the concept of Jeremiah's Deuteronomistic redaction, marking a major departure from Duhm and Mowinckel, who once advocated that Jeremiah was the fruit of unplanned redaction.[128] Proposals concerning Jeremiah's Deuteronomistic redaction appeared with two different models, although Hyatt deserves credit as the pioneer to advocate it.[129]

[124] J. Coert Rylaardsdam, 'Foreword' to *Tradition History and the Old Testament,* by Walter E. Rast, OTSGBS (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1972), vii; Barton, *Reading*, 46-47.
[125] Stone, 'Redaction', 109-10.
[126] Eduard Nielsen, *Oral Tradition*, SBT 11 (London: SCM Press, 1954), 12-13.
[127] Terence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetical Books*, BSem 20, (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 15.
[128] Duhm, *Jeremia*, xx and Mowinckel, *Komposition*, 3.
[129] Hyatt's whole argument is distributed across several articles, but there are concise versions of Hyatt's complete argument in the following works: J. Philip Hyatt, 'The Deuteronomic Edition of Jeremiah', in *Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities*, ed.

As early as 1940 Hyatt claimed that the prophet was synchronised to the period of King Josiah arguing that Jeremiah 11

> has undoubtedly received expansion at the hands of an editor of the Deuteronomistic school who wished to make it appear that Jeremiah had supported Josiah's reforms.[130]

The interpretation of Jeremiah 11 is perhaps the heart of Hyatt's model, as he argues that this chapter went through extensive Deuteronomic editorial work alongside passages like Jer 3:6; 25:3 and 36:2, which were the product of later traditions.[131] His chief resistance regarding the contemporality of Jeremiah and Josiah lied in the argument that they present opposite theologies in which Jeremiah uses the term Torah in ethical terms based on the Decalogue in line with the religion practiced in the desert, which is an antagonist to the ritualistic religion of the temple.[132] For Hyatt, the prophet's religion was an internalised spirituality, which put the Sinaitic laws in practice and provided social justice in tune with Hosea's message.[133] In his attempt to explain the interrelation between Jeremiah's work, original Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomists, Hyatt proposed that the prophet was familiar with an original version of Deuteronomy and that the original editions of Jeremiah and Deuteronomy present similar language that could be explained on the grounds that both works were written around the same period between the seventh and early sixth centuries BCE.[134] The latter Deuteronomic editors, however, intended to present the prophet in favour of the Josianic reforms using the following editorial techniques: placing the beginning of the prophet's ministry before the Deuteronomistic reform; inserting passages that

Richmond C. Beatty, J. Philip Hyatt and Monroe K. Spears, vol. 1 (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1951), 71-95; —, 'The Book of Jeremiah: Introduction and Exegesis', in *The Interpreters' Bible Commentary: Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Song of Songs, Jeremiah*, ed. Samuel Terrien, vol. XII (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1956), 777-93.

[130] Id., 'The Peril from the North in Jeremiah', *JBL* 59 (1940):511-12.

[131] Id., 'The Original Text of Jeremiah 11:15-16', *JBL* 60 (1941):57-60.

[132] Id., 'The Torah in the Book of Jeremiah', *JBL* 60 (1941):381-96.

[133] Id., 'The Message of the Seventh Century Prophet for Today', *JBR* 11 (1943):95-96.

[134] Id., 'Jeremiah and Deuteronomy', *JNES* 1 (1942):163-65.

emphasise the presence of pre-Deuteronomic sins during Jeremiah's early career; the composition of Jer 11:1-8 to evidence the prophet's support to the reforms; introducing texts that interprets the Exile and its setbacks as a consequence of apostasy; adding passages predicting restoration from the Exile and future prosperity as certain; inserting legal texts suggesting that the prophet was familiar with Deuteronomic laws.[135] There is, however, one occasion (chapter 28) in which Hyatt suggested that the prophet might have influenced Deuteronomy.[136]

Before moving on to Thiel's Deuteronomistic redaction, it is worth mentioning Nicholson's contribution since it had a noticeable influence on Thiel's proposal. Despite accepting a historical kernel of the account presented in Jeremiah 36, Nicholson suggested that 'the primary purpose of this narrative […] is theological and not, as commentators have so often suggested, merely biographical.'[137] Still, Nicholson argued that the story of Baruch, the scribe, provides three aspects about the emergence and development of prophetic writings, particularly Jeremiah: the conversion of Jeremiah's early oracles into writing occurred at a relatively early stage started by the prophet himself; the supplementation of the original collection after being burned by King Jehoiakim and the importance of Baruch's role.[138] These preliminary observations lead Nicholson to argue that Jeremiah was the fruit of 'a purely or predominantly literary activity' owing 'its present form as well as much of the material in it to scribal and literary activity of Baruch and other authors and editors.'[139] Like Mowinckel's reassessment of his C material, Nicholson presented a paradoxical proposal regarding the current form of Jeremiah, as he claimed that the book in its current form does not simply reflect the transmission of the prophet's words, as it also includes interpretations of his career and

[135] Id., 'Deuteronomy', 165-72.
[136] Ibid., 172-73.
[137] E. W. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles: A Study of the Prose Tradition in the Book of Jeremiah* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), 2.
[138] Nicholson, *Preaching*, 2-3.
[139] Ibid., 3.

message in light of theological agenda relevant to the exilic community. Such paradox becomes clearer when he mentions that:

> This means that although much of the material in the book can be attributed directly to Jeremiah himself, that is, preserves his *ipssissima verba*, we must also reckon with the probability that much of it owes its origins and composition directly to the circle of traditionists.[140]

For Nicholson, the way in which the circle of traditionists transmitted Jeremiah's message followed a similar principle adopted by those who delivered the content of the Deuteronomistic history, which is in line with the homiletical method presented in Deuteronomy, updating and contextualising the prophetic words to the current generation.[141] Nicholson's distance from Hyatt becomes clearer when one observes the creative role given to the writers of the prose tradition, which Nicholson placed within the exilic milieu whilst Hyatt occasionally still gives the impression of attempting to grasp some biographical aspects of the historical Jeremiah.[142] Another major departure from Duhm and Mowinckel in Nicholson's perspective was the fact that he did not seem to make any distinction between the biographical material and the sermon in the prose sections. Such an absence of differentiation becomes evident when he rejects that all narratives between Jeremiah 26 and 36 fit within a *Leidensgeschichte* or a general biography, as they primarily aim to be didactic and probably developed in a similar manner as the sermons which are present within some of them. Thus, Nicholson argued that:

> they are properly understood as edifying stories which owe their origin to a circle of traditionists who have sought to draw out the implications of various incidents in the prophetic ministry and teaching of Jeremiah for matters with which they were vitally concerned, such as the authority of the prophetic word, the problem of false prophecy and disobedience to the requirements of the Law.[143]

[140] Ibid., 4.
[141] Ibid., 7-10.
[142] Ibid., 11-16. Kang presents a similar proposal adding that although the composers continued developing the text between the Second Temple Period and the 2nd century BCE, 'the text already had a fixed form' in the early exilic period or even immediately after Jeremiah's death cf. Sa-Moon Kang, 'The Authentic Sermon of Jeremiah in Jeremiah 7:1-20', in *Text, Temples and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran*, ed. Michael V. Fox et al (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 147-62.
[143] Nicholson, *Preaching*, 16-17. Although I agree with Nicholson in the sense that the biographical and the sermonic material are both didactical, they employ different

Now more specifically in terms of Thiel's Deuteronomistic redaction. Even though he praised Hyatt's proposal as the best explanation of the facts, Thiel still raised some problems with such a presentation, such as the lack of a distinction between the terms Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic and the fact that Hyatt missed the importance of the exilic background.[144] According to Coggins, whilst the term 'Deuteronomic' refers to Deuteronomy, the term 'Deuteronomistic' denotes 'the influence or thought-forms associated with the work of the Deuteronomists and expressed more widely and diffusely in the literature'.[145] Lohfink, likewise, urged for clarity regarding the term Deuteronomistic reserving its use to describe 'textual affiliation'.[146] The application of the distinction of what really qualifies certain Jeremianic texts as Deuteronomistic or not is reflected by the term *Deuterojeremianische* coined by Stipp. After comparing phrases in the books of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic literature (Joshua–2 Kings), he argues that:

> Jer Passagen, die an einem charakteristischen Repertoire geprägter Redeweisen teilhaben und gewiss jüngere, nichtauthentische Shöpfungen darstellen, gleichwohl jedoch keineswegs deuteronomistisch sind. Demnach haben wir einen linguistischen Fundus vor uns, der zu einem beachtlichen Teil aus Dtr Vokabular besteht, aber darüber hinausgeht und daher oft, aber nicht notwendig dtr Herkunft anzeigt. Der Eindruck, mit einer buchtypischen, den dtr Rahmen sprengenden Idiomatik rechnen zu müssen, ließ das Bedürfnis nach einem separaten Inventar geprägten Sprachmaterials im Jeremiabuch entstehen. Eine Liste dtr Terminologie ist dagegen einerseits umfangreicher, weil sie die in Jer nicht belegten Topoi verzeichnen muss, während andererseits viele der hier aufgenommenen Elemente entfallen. Der zusätzliche Eindruck, dass das fragliche Formelgut zwar nicht immer deuteronomistischen. wohl aber zuallermeist nichtauthentischen Ursprung markiert, lieβ den Titel 'Deuterojeremianische Konkordanz angemessen erscheinen.[147]

strategies in the transmission of their teaching. Whilst stories work subversively inviting the audience's imagination, sermons tend to speak to the audience directly. See O'Connor, *Pain*, 69-70, 93-94.

[144] Winfried Thiel, *Die Deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25,* WMANT 41 (Berlin: Neukirchener, 1973), 3-31.

[145] Richard Coggins, 'What Does "Deuteronomistic" Mean?' in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing & Steve L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 23.

[146] Norbert F. Lohfink, 'Was There a Deuteronomistic Movement?' in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing & Steve L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 39.

[147] Hermann-Josef Stipp, *Deutero-Jeremianische Konkordanz*, ATSAT 63 (St. Ottilien: EOS-Verl., 1998), 2.

Maier complements this point arguing that Deutero-Jeremianic prose was a particular style, originally created during the exile, employed in various literary genres and in later phases of the book's development. Thereby, one should distinguish the term Deutero-Jeremianic from the term Deuteronomistic since the latter reflects an exilic editorial stratum in Jeremiah.[148]

Still, whereas Hyatt's model is limited to specific passages in Jeremiah, Thiel's proposal suggested that 'die Abgrenzung der betreffenden Texte in der Forschung, die prinzipiell die Evidenz dtr. Texte im Buche Jeremia bejaht, alles andere als Einigkeit'.[149] Within this broad editorial process, one could find 'der Arten und Möglichkeiten, mit der die Verknüpfung der vorgegebenen Überlieferungen von der Redaktion vollzogen wurde' alongside the guiding principles of the editors, which might be literary or overlapping factual features which reveal the hands of the editors.[150] As reported by Thiel,

> Die Aufdeckung dieser Leitgedanken und der hinter ihnen stehenden theologischen Konzeption würde die angesichts der Textverhältnisse evidente These von einer dtr. Redaktion zur Gewißheit erheben. So sehr sich der Nachweis einer dtr. Redaktion auf den Vergleich mit der Literatur dtr. Herkunft berufen muß, so sind doch die Ergebnisse einer solchen redaktionsgeschichtlichen Analyse nicht an Texten außerhalb des untersuchten Buches letztgültig nachprüfbar.[151]

The language of the Deuteronomistic redaction was characterised by Thiel based on 'formelhaft geprägte Phraseologie der Prosareden,' as he argues that these 'Sprachbefund als das wichtigste Kriterium für die Abgrenzung und Beurteilung der betreffenden Texte gelten'.[152] His first case to determine whether the language employed by the editor was Deuteronomist or not consisted in the fact that they were not

[148] Christl M. Maier, 'The Nature of Deutero-Jeremianic Texts', in *Jeremiah's Scriptures: Production, Reception, Interaction, and Transformation,* ed. Hindy Najman and Konrad Schmid, JSJSup 173 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 123.
[149] Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 44.
[150] Ibid., 44.
[151] Ibid., 44-45.
[152] Winfried Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45: Mit einer Gesamtbeurteilung der deuteronomistischen Redaktion des Buches Jeremia*, WMANT 52 (Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 93.

present in the core of the Deuteronomy (this principle is also applied to pre-Deuteronomistic speech, e.g., 'Verhärtung des (bösen) Herzens,' 'dann wird euch das Unheil treffen' and 'meine Knechte, die Propheten'), but they were expressive in the Deuteronomistic corpus.[153] Thereby, Thiel argued that the fact that such a phraseology was abundant in 'Jeremia-D gegenüberstehen, ist wohl als Verweis auf das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zu werten,' although he recognised that this rule is not absolute since some phrases occasionally occur with more frequency in the Deuteronomistic literature than in Jeremiah's redaction.[154] Thiel, however, disregarded cases in which certain texts appeared as quotations (e.g., Jer 22:8f) because they did not evidence borrowing. Yet cases, where the correspondences were not based on shared Deuteronomistic language (e.g., common references between Jeremiah and Amos), indicated that 'der dtr. Redaktion des Buches Jeremia das Dtr schon als abgeschlossene Größe vorlag'.[155] Another Deuteronomistic feature was the creative way in which the editors employed older material (e.g., 'ich entferne die Stimme der Freude und Wonne, des Bräutigams und der Braut: 7,34; 25,10 (33,11PD) aus 16,9'), which Thiel describeed as:

> Ein für D typisches Verfahren ist die Aufnahme von Zusammenhängen aus dem überlieferten Textmaterial, die in der jetzigen Disposition weit entfernt von der Stelle auftreten, an der sie von D. angezogen werden. Dieser ferne Textebezug zeigt die intime Kenntnis, die die Redaktion von ihr vorliegenden Überlieferungen besaß. Es handelt sich hierbei teils um fast wörtliche Reproduktionen, teils um mehr oder weniger freie Paraphrasen des alten Wortlauts.[156]

The use of such old traditions, which showed no dependence on the Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic writings, in Jeremiah and other prophets strongly suggested that:

> *Redaktion des Buches Jeremia* begegnen, dürften der sprachschöpferischen Leistung der Redaktion entstammen bzw. eine gegenüber dem Dtr etwas gewandelte sprachliche Situation

[153] Thiel, *Jeremia 26–45*, 93-94.
[154] Ibid., 94-95.
[155] Ibid., 95-96.
[156] Ibid., 96-99.

> widerspiegeln. Sie verleihen der Sprache von D, unbeschadet ihres dtr. Charakter, eine unstreitige Eigenständigkeit.[157]

Like Nicholson, Thiel suggested that such Deuteronomistic editors seem to be part of a homiletical tradition using a language that transpires a sense of urgency,[158] which its main concern was

> die Gerichtsbegründung. Sie interpretiert die Katastrophe von 587 (wie die Nordisraels von 722/21, vgl. II. Kön. 17,7ff.) als Gericht Jahwes über die nicht abreißende Verschuldung seines Volkes im Verlauf seiner ganzen Geschichte.[159]

Thiel summarised such concerns in two points: 'Gestaltung der Gegenwart und Erwartung für die Zukunft' in which the first one involved 'die aus der Deutung der Vergangenheit entwickelte *Gerinchtsinterpretation*, die die gegenwärtige Lage zu erklären unternimmt' whilst the second

> stehen die konkreten Heilsverheißungen, die D formuliert hat und die ihre Zuversicht bezeugen, daß die Geschichte Jahwes mit Israel kein endgültiges Ende gefunden hat, sondern auf verbesserter Grundlage neu anheben wird.[160]

Compared against the Deuteronomistic literature, however, the Jeremianic traditions appeared more sophisticated, as the authors of the former seem worried about unifying a wide range of material whilst such a unity was to some extent already present in prophetic traditions demanding only smaller interferences from its editors.[161] The fact that Jeremiah lived in the cusp of the exile (suggesting that his message would have deep concerns about the imminent calamity) alongside his strange absence in the Deuteronomistic work lead Thiel to think that the editors had great knowledge of the Jeremianic tradition, which enabled them to compose the book with relative freedom.[162] Nonetheless, Thiel did not hesitate in locating the book in Judah based on its dispersion (e.g., Jer 8:3) next to the promises of homecoming (e.g., Jer 27:22) and the lack of concern of the Golah situation alongside

[157] Ibid., 97-98.
[158] Ibid., 98.
[159] Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 301.
[160] Thiel, *Jeremia 26–45*, 107.
[161] Ibid., 103.
[162] Ibid., 103-106.

the absence of threat from Persia against Babylon lead Thiel to suggest the early exilic period because the Babylonians seemed still in control.[163]

Even though Hyatt's and Thiel's proposals can in fact be considered as Jeremiah's Deuteronomistic redaction, they still present significant differences. Whilst the former sometimes still seems attached to the historical prophet, the latter appears closer to Nicholson making a distinction between prophet and book. But despite such distinctions, the nature of the relationship between Jeremiah and the Deuteronomists has been an object of heated debate amongst Jeremiah's scholars, involving the focus on the prophet versus the emphasis on the book named after him.[164] The heart of the differences of such reactions, to a great extent, is based on, on the one hand, the tension between history and literature and, on the other hand, the nature of Jeremiah's redaction.

(a) Biographical Approach

One kind of response, more predominant in North America, focuses on the figure of the prophet, sometimes with apologetic tendencies, attributing most of the material to the historical Jeremiah. It is possible to observe strong influences from Skinner and Albright within this perspective. Skinner's work may be the classical example of biographical approaches and despite clear interaction with critical scholars, his proposal attempts to correlate the content of the book to Jeremiah's spiritual biography.[165]

A logical consequence of the correlation between the historical prophet and the book's content is inevitably the correspondence of the

[163] Ibid., 113-115.
[164] See Carroll's analysis on different approaches on Jeremiah that emerged during the mid-80s cf. Robert P. Carroll, 'Radical Clashes of Will and Styles: Recent Commentary Writing on the Book of Jeremiah', *JSOT* 14 (1989):99-114; —, 'Arguing about Jeremiah: Recent Studies and the Nature of a Prophetic Book', in *Congress Volume: Leuven 1989* ed. J. A. Emerton, VTSup 43 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 222-35.
[165] John Skinner, *Prophecy & Religion: Studies in the Life of Jeremiah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 16.

events described within Jeremiah and the external world. Here is an area in which Albright's impact appears visibly present as the leading figure of the biblical archaeology movement, which seemed over excited with the combination between the disciplines of archaeology, philology, linguistics and anthropology in order to produce data for a historical reconstruction.[166] Thus, it is not surprising to find strong resistance amongst scholars, who defend such a biographical perspective, to the association of Jeremiah's prose speech with Deuteronomistic circles. Their main arguments are philological and linguistic, as they argue that such resemblances between the language of Jeremiah's prose sermons and available in Deuteronomistic traditions lie on the fact that both literary corpuses were produced during the same period between the mid-7th and mid-6th centuries BCE.[167] Such claims, however, are nothing new as Hyatt himself already presented something similar almost a decade earlier.[168]

Although Bright[169] did not credit the prose material to either Jeremiah or the biographer, he strongly objected to the division between authentic and non-authentic material. Consequently, Bright explicitly rejected that the prose speech was postexilic and suggested that dating the prose section should be the starting point of inquiry claiming that 'there is little convincing evidence that this material (any more than did Dtr) knew of the Restoration,' although this could be questioned by the presence of the Sabbath, but according to him, 'the Sabbath […] is an old institution.'[170] Interestingly, however, was the fact that Bright did not argue that these sermons were *ipsissima verba Jeremiae*, but he attributed them to Jeremiah's disciples minimising the

[166] William Foxwell Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity – Monotheism and the Historical Process*, Repr. (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Press, 1940), 1-47.
[167] See John Bright, 'The Date of the Prose Sermons of Jeremiah', *JBL* 70 (1951):27; William L. Holladay, 'Prototype and Copies: A New Approach to the Poetry-Prose Problem in the Book of Jeremiah', *JBL* 79 (1960):367 and Helga Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches,* BZAW 132 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973), 25.
[168] Hyatt., 'Deuteronomy', 163-65.
[169] Bright has produced number of articles on Jeremiah, but the synthesis of his whole view can be found in John Bright, *Jeremiah: Introduction, Translation and Notes,* ABC 21 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), lv-lxxxv.
[170] Id., 'Date', 22-23.

influence of the Deuteronomists.[171] Thus, unlike Duhm and Mowinckel, yet close to Rudolph, Bright played down the influence of the Deuteronomists on Jeremiah, as he rhetorically asked the following question:

> is it thinkable that so soon after the prophet's death, in the lifetime of hundreds who knew him well, there could have taken place the fundamental falsification of his ministry, specifically of his early ministry, so widely assumed?[172]

Whilst Bright agreed with Mowinckel regarding three types of material in Jeremiah, he attempted to hold the material as close to the prophet as he could.[173] For instance, he proposed that Jeremiah's laments possibly reflect the personal distressing experiences of the historical Jeremiah.[174] More specifically regarding Jeremiah 15, Bright suggested that the content of this passage derives from real circumstances in which God's servants faced persecution for their faithfulness.[175] Another type of material, which Bright attributed to the prophet, was the book of consolation, as he also considered Jer 31:31-34 as belonging to the historical prophet and placed them after the Babylonian invasion in 587 BCE, suggesting that these hopes were inspired by the old Sinaitic covenant (Exodus 19 and 24).[176] Therefore, despite that Bright was keen to adopt some insights from form criticism, he rejected many conclusions based on literary criticism reducing the complex diverse material and Jeremiah's lack of organisation to the genre of anthology, as the extract below indicates:

> If one studies a play, a novel, or a learned thesis, one may assume that it has a unity of structure: a logical progression in which each step of the argument leads into the next, or a coherence of plot in which each part of the story grows out of what has gone before and leads into what follows. The understanding of each part presupposes the unity of the

[171] Ibid., 27-29.
[172] Ibid., 28.
[173] Id., 'The Book of Jeremiah: Its Structure, Its Problems, and Their Significance for the Interpreters', *Interp* 9 (1955):264-74.
[174] Id., 'Jeremiah's Complaints: Liturgy or Expressions of Personal Distress?' in *Proclamation and Presence: Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies*, ed. John I. Durham and Joshua Roy Porter (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1970), 214.
[175] Id., 'Prophet's Lament and Its Answer: Jeremiah 15:10-21', *Interp* 28 (1974):59-74.
[176] Id., 'Exercise in Hermeneutics: Jeremiah 31:31-34', *Interp* 20 (1966):192-95.

> whole. On the contrary, if one reads an anthology of poems, a collection of short essays, an encyclopaedia – one assumes neither chronological progress nor logical connection between the parts. In an anthology of Tennyson, say, one may not assume that the first poem lay chronologically before, or logically leads into, the second – and so on. To interpret an anthology in that way is to *eisegete*.[177]

One of the points of contention amongst Jeremiah's scholars is on how one should interpret Jeremiah 36. Bright based the expansions of the book on the face value interpretation of this chapter without excluding the possibility that the prophet could have been involved with the editorial process of the book.[178] Although Bright followed the traditional chronology embracing 626 BCE as the beginning of Jeremiah's career, he discarded the Scythians hypothesis as the threat from the North in Jeremiah 2–6 claiming that the prophet could have predicted the Babylonian invasion even before it became reality. Still he did not situate the prophecies of these five chapters exclusively to Jeremiah's early ministry, as he suggested that this block merged oracles from the prophet's early and late career under the same theme.[179]

One of Bright's innovations might be his rearrangement of the book of Jeremiah into his chronological reconstruction, which reorganises the oracles according to the chronology presented by the narratives.[180] Yet this eventually resulted in a completely different book and although there is evidence for different organisations of Jeremiah based on its Greek and Hebrew versions, Bright's reconstruction is purely based on a naïve reading of the material available in the narrative sections of the book. Nonetheless, Bright's contribution, strongly influences scholars who favours a biographical approach.

Despite clear points of intersection between Holladay[181] and Bright, there are clear areas of departure as well. Like Bright, Holladay credits

[177] Id., 'Book', 277.
[178] Ibid., 272-74.
[179] Ibid., 273-74.
[180] Id., *Jeremiah*, cxxxviii-cxli.
[181] As a prolific writer on Jeremiah, Holladay's argument is spread through a number of articles, but the sum of his contributions can be found in his two volume commentaries on Jeremiah: William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of Jeremiah: Chapters 1–25,* Herm (Philadelphia: PA, Fortress Press, 1986), 1-

as much of the book material to the historical Jeremiah as possible, as he also rejects any association of the prose speeches with the Deuteronomistics. His justification for the presence of the prose sermon in Jeremiah, which seems absent in other prophets like Isaiah, lies on the emergence of the book of Deuteronomy.[182] This argument, however, is not new since Hyatt also explained the intersections between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy on the grounds that the prophet could have had access to some form of proto-Deuteronomy.[183] Such a position is somewhat endorsed by Sturdy's case for the relationship between Jeremiah's prose sermon and Deuteronomy 28, although he cannot be considered to hold a biographic approach himself as he accepts most of Nicholson's argument.[184] Nevertheless, Holladay's argument goes beyond Hyatt's proposal, as he argues that the fact that Jeremiah's early oracles already indicate traces of Deuteronomic influences (e.g., the song of Moses) suggests that the prophet was influenced by the periodic reading of Deuteronomy.[185] Holladay justifies significant stylistic differences between prose and poetry in terms of the conversion of oral content into written format.[186] In Holladay's mind, these sermons give access to some sort of *vox Jeremiae*,[187] but his objection to the association of the prose sermons with the Deuteronomistics also extends to small glosses, such as Jer 8:19b, as he claims that such small glosses are authentic poetic devices, which bring stability between continuity and discontinuity, and might

10; —, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of Jeremiah: Chapters 26–52,* Herm (Philadelphia: PA, Fortress Press, 1989), 10-95 and two works more addressed to a lay audience: —, *Jeremiah: Spokesman out of Time* (Philadelphia, PA: United Church Press, 1974) and —, *Jeremiah: A Fresh Reading* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1990).

[182] Id., 'A Fresh Look at "Source B" and "Source C" in Jeremiah', *VT* 25 (1975):409-11.

[183] Hyatt, 'Deuteronomy', 163-72.

[184] John V. M. Sturdy, 'The Authorship of the "Prose Sermons of Jeremiah"', in *Prophecy: Essays Presented to Georg Fohrer on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday 6 September 1980* ed. by J. A. Emerton, BZAW 150 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 143-50.

[185] Holladay, 'Fresh', 409-11.

[186] Ibid., 411-12.

[187] Id., 'Elusive Deuteronomists, Jeremiah, and Proto-Deuteronomy', *CBQ* 66 (2004):55-77.

be proof of historical Jeremiah's support for the Josianic reform.[188] Yet Holladay seems far more optimistic than Bright in terms of correlating Jeremiah's material to specific historical circumstances. For instance, he insists that certain features, such as chiasmus, double meaning, assonance, double occurrences of roots, heightened vocabulary, abrupt change of speaker and of mood, and irony, are enough evidence to credit as historical Jeremiah's signature.[189] One of the examples in which his optimism goes beyond Bright's can be noticed by the fact that he attempts to recover poetic passages and even tries to identify the content of the two scrolls.[190] One point of convergence between Holladay and Bright, however, is their interpretation of Jeremiah 36 since Holladay takes the narrative of this chapter almost literally claiming that the content of the first scroll before being subsequently rewritten again after being burned by King Jehoiakim should be limited to chapters 1–24.[191]

Holladay's theory of *Prototype and Copies* is perhaps his main contribution to studies in Jeremiah in terms of intertextual relations between different texts in the OT/HB, although his conclusions are far too sanguine in terms of affirming the authorship of the book to the historical prophet as well as identifying the content of the two scrolls, or even correlating internal with external realities. His thesis, which basically agrees with Bright's opinion regarding the origins and dates of the prose material, argues the following:

> In a great many cases, a phrase which is used repeatedly in the prose passages has a prototype in the poetic oracles. In some cases, the prototype is a striking turn of phrase without parallel in pre-Jeremianic literature. Here one can say with some confidence: Jeremiah said it first, the prose style is simply copying him, and other occurrences in the OT are subsequent to the Jeremiah prose.[192]

[188] Id., 'The So-Called "Deuteronomic Gloss" in Jer VIII:19b', *VT* 12 (1962):494-98.
[189] Id., 'Style, Irony and Authenticity in Jeremiah', *JBL* 81 (1962):44-49.
[190] Id., 'Recovery of Poetic Passages of Jeremiah', *JBL* 85 (1966):402-35.
[191] Id., 'The Identification of the Two-Scrolls of Jeremiah', *VT* 30 (1980):452-67.
[192] Id., 'Prototype', 354.

According to Holladay, this notion of prototype-copy may function as a compass to assist whether a certain passage is authentic or not, proposing that:

> if the pattern of prototype-copy is a valid one for the book of Jeremiah, we may find occasionally that we can employ it to help make literary judgments of genuineness. Sometimes the genuineness of a given passage is in dispute; if it can be shown that it might be a prototype, then this datum is one item that favour of its genuineness.[193]

Holladay seems to believe that the fact that 'prose phrases find their antecedents in poetic oracles, mostly those of Jeremiah but also occasionally in other pre-exilic prophetic material'[194] is enough evidence to determine whether or not particular material is authentic. For example, he confidently claims that the phrase גבהה ותחת כל־עץ רענן started with Hosea and passed through Deut 12:2 before arriving in Jeremiah, who standardised it.[195] Holladay, however, excludes cases in which the material comes from different origins, such as

> a phrase or a combination of phrases from genuine poetic oracles which in turn have been inherited from early legal codes, so that the poetic phrase is only an indirect reinforcement for the prose sections to imitate legal phraseology.[196]

Moreover, Holladay justifies the absence of comments about the relationship between Jeremiah and Ezekiel because the latter appears 'after the prose sections.'[197] His alternative chronology, however, offers a different response to Hyatt's and Whitley's proposals and it is possibly one of his major departures from Bright's view[198] since Holladay suggests that 626 BCE does not correspond to the year of Jeremiah's call, but the year of the prophet's birth instead.[199] Consequently, the prophet only started his ministry after Josiah's reform already had taken place, which is a reasonable time span for the

[193] Ibid., 361.
[194] Ibid., 366.
[195] Id., 'On Every High Hill and Under Every Green Tree', *VT* 11 (1961):170-76.
[196] Ibid., 170-76.
[197] Holladay, 'Prototype', 366-67.
[198] John Bright, 'Review of "Holladay's Jeremiah: A Review Article"', *ANQ* 15 (1974):151-52.
[199] William L. Holladay, 'A Coherent Chronology of Jeremiah's Early Career', in *Le Livre de Jérémie,* ed. P.-M. Bogaert, BETL 54 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 58-73; —, 'The Years of Jeremiah's Preaching', *Interp* 37 (1983): 146-59.

prophet to grow up exposed to the septennial reading of some form of Deuteronomy (cf. Deut 31:9-13) and to have access to the stories of Moses and Samuel.[200] These points lead Holladay to reckon that it is likely that Jeremiah was in favour of the Josianic reform and the unification between North and South.[201] Particularly the topic on Jeremiah's chronology is one which arguably places Hyatt within biographical approaches, as he argued that Jeremiah could only have started his ministry after Josiah's death, beginning a whole debate with Whitley who argued that the prophet's early career started in 605 BCE after the battle of Carchemish.[202]

Many of the linguistic conclusions exposed by Bright, Holladay and even Hyatt, which date Jeremiah's prose sermons around the same period of Deuteronomistic texts, and therefore, attributes this material to the historical Jeremiah are also shared by Weippert. Based on statistical and linguistic data, she argues that the resemblance between these literary bodies reveal shared vocabulary instead of a mere isolated word study,

> der Kontext ist es, der die individuelle Bedeutung eines Wortes oder einer Formel bei einem bestimmten Verfasser gegenüber anderen möglichen Bedeutungen in anderen Kontexten abgrenzt und festlegt. Begnügt man sich also lediglich mit der Feststellung und Zählung von Isoglossen verschiedener literarischer Komplexe einer oder mehrerer vergleichbarer sozialer Größen innerhalb derselben Periode, so gewinnt man daraus bestenfalls Hinweise auf gruppenspezifische Vokabeln und Formeln dieser Zeit. Individuelle Nuancierungen ergeben sich aus dem Kontext, aus dem die Sprach- und Denktradition eines Sprechers oder Autors abgelesen werden können.[203]

Perhaps an innovation from Weippert is her priority for C over B source, which clearly challenges Duhm's authentic criteria based on the distinction between prose and poetry, as she affirms that in many

[200] Id., 'A Proposal for Reflections in the Book of Jeremiah of the Seven-Year Recitation of the Law in Deuteronomy (Deut 31, 10-13)', in *Deuteronomium, Entstehung Gestalt und Botschaft,* ed. Norbert Lohfink, BETL 68 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1985), 326-28; —, 'The Background of Jeremiah's Self-Understanding: Moses, Samuel and Psalm 22', *JBL* 83 (1964):162-63; —, 'Jeremiah and Moses: Further Observations', *JBL* 85 (1966):17-27.
[201] Id., *Jeremiah 1*, 2.
[202] See J. Philip Hyatt, 'Beginning of Jeremiah's Prophecy', *ZAW* 78 (1966):204-18; C. F. Whitley, 'Date of Jeremiah's Call', *VT* 14 (1964):467-83; —, 'Carchemish and Jeremiah', *ZAW* 80 (1968):38-49.
[203] Weippert, *Die Prosareden*, 21-25.

cases the lyric prose derives from the metric prophetic proclamation, as the paragraph below illustrates:

> Das Spezifikum der rednerischen Prosa — gedanklicher Parallelismus membrorum und Wortgruppenbildung — entstammt so der metrisch gehaltenen Prophetenverkündigung, wie auch die Reden selbst sich aus dieser entwickelt haben. Wenn daher im folgenden für die rednerische Prosa der Ausdruck 'Kunstprosa' verwendet wird, so ist das Mißverständnis abzuwehren, daß es sich hierbei um eine verfeinerte Stufe der erzählenden Prosa handle. Gerade umgekehrt hat sich die Kunstprosa aus der metrisch geformten Literatur herausgebildet, und von dort stammen ihr Formalkriterien, die sie von der berichtenden Prosa unterscheiden.[204]

In a similar fashion, Thompson argues that 'some of the prose passages in the book are almost poetic in character and may be described as "elevated prose"'.[205] Watson suggests the existence of 'a class of professional story-tellers' in ancient Israel who delivered 'old songs and legends' orally in a sort of 'elevated prose style'.[206] Yet the question related to the distinction between prose and poetry has divided scholars. On the one hand, Freedman seems confident in drawing some boundaries between prose and poetry based on the frequency of the so-called prose particles, such as the def. art. ה, the relative pronoun אשר and the definite object sign mark את, alongside the possibility of metrification of some types Hebrew poetry.[207] On the other hand, Gillingham believes that such a distinction is rather artificially imposed by modern perspective since these differences are not qualitative.[208] Although she recognises that some books are somehow more poetical than others (e.g., Genesis–Deuteronomy more narrative than the poetical Psalm, Job and Proverbs), the prophets are characterised by a mixture of narrative and poetry and this issue is even exponentiated in Jeremiah. For these reasons, Gillingham concludes either metre or

[204] Ibid., 80.
[205] J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1980), 46.
[206] Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques*, JSOTSup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1984), 76.
[207] David Noel Freedman, 'Another Look at Biblical Hebrew Poetry', in *Directions in Biblical Poetry*, ed. Elaine R. Follis, JSOTSup 40 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987), 11-28.
[208] S. E. Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible*, OB (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 42-43.

parallelism is not enough to differentiate poetry from prose suggesting that alongside literary-theological criterion the interpreter's intuition plays an important role.[209]

Overall Weippert seems to be closer to Holladay's optimism than Bright's, as she openly claims that 'Ferner weist der Sprachgebrauch der Prosareden in mehreren Formulierungen immer wieder auf Jeremia als ihren Verfasser hin'.[210] Her early dating for Jeremiah's material even extends to the words of new covenant (cf. Jer 31:31-34) in which one can clearly detect Albright's influence and their location as early as the mid-7th century BCE, which illustrates another example of her tendency to place the words of repentance at an early stage.[211]

Another scholar, who can be associated with the biographical approach, is Lundbom.[212] Obvious resemblances between Lundbom and Holladay in terms of opinions regarding historicity should not surprise the reader since the latter had a tremendous impact on the former, but probably, the main difference between these two scholars is the employment of rhetorical criticism, which is something to be expected, as Lundbom was Muilenburg's pupil.[213]

Muilenburg uses insights from stylistic or aesthetic criticism to complement form criticism in an enterprise named by him as rhetorical criticism.[214] Such endeavour starts with the delimitation of unit, identifying its beginning and end and it is followed by the comprehension of how the pericope is organised and the way in which

[209] Gillingham, *Poems*, 122-35.
[210] Weippert, *Die Prosareden*, 229.
[211] Helga Weippert, 'Das Wort vom neuen Bund in Jeremia XXXI 31-34', *VT* 29 (1979):340, 350-51.
[212] Lundbom also has written number of works about Jeremiah, but his complete argument is available in Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–25: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary,* vol. 1, AYBC 21A (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 55-150; —, *Jeremiah Closer Up: The Prophet and the Book*, HBM 31 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2010); —, *Writing Up Jeremiah: The Prophet and the Book* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2013) and other shorter works targeting lay audience e.g., —, *Jeremiah Among the Prophets* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012) and *Jeremiah: Prophet Like Moses* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2015).
[213] Id., *Jeremiah: A Study in Ancient Hebrew Rhetoric*, 2nd ed. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), ix-x.
[214] James Muilenburg, 'Form Criticism and Beyond', *JBL* 88 (1969):1-8, 18.

it develops.[215] The employment of these principles are evident in Lundbom's work on Jeremiah, as he argues that

> the Jeremianic speeches are controlled not by fixed genre structures i.e., the letter, lawsuit, hymn, lament, judgment speech, or whatever, but by structures that were dictated by canons of Hebrew rhetoric in the 8th-6th centuries B.C.[216]

Similar to Bright, Holladay and Weippert, Lundbom also expresses some reservation to a Deuteronomistic redaction of Jeremiah, as he claims that 'Jeremiah drew upon the rhetorical tradition that first manifested itself in Deuteronomy', which makes it 'difficult if not impossible to compare the Jeremianic *speeches* with the speeches in Deuteronomy because the Jeremianic speeches are in poetry'.[217] The way in which Lundbom applies rhetorical criticism to small pericopes, however, seems rather descriptive favouring the synchronic text instead of considering diachronic questions, as he describes the prophet's talented handling of rhetorical techniques presented in the following mastery to address the audience: a wide range of argumentative strategies (e.g., exaggerate contrasts and rhetorical questions) alongside tropes and accumulations (e.g., euphemisms and metaphors), hyperboles, paronomasias, irony and drama (e.g., speakers' alternation and use of apostrophe), repetition (e.g., inclusions, anaphora, alliterations, epiphoras, similes).[218]

Additionally, it appears that in Lundbom's mind the audience of the book and the external audience are the same.[219] In this sense, one can easily detect some parallels between his view of Jeremiah's laments and Bright's opinion in the sense that both locate them within a period in which the historical prophet faced difficult challenges. More specifically regarding Jer 20:14-18, Lundbom believes that this poem is more likely to be dated c. 605-604 BCE because this stage suggests some tension between the King Jehoiakim and the prophet.[220]

[215] Muilenburg, 'Form,' 9-13.
[216] Lundbom, *Rhetoric*, 147.
[217] Ibid., 147-48.
[218] Ibid., 148-54.
[219] Ibid., 153.
[220] Id., 'The Double Curse in Jeremiah 20:14-18', *JBL* 104 (1985):589.

Nevertheless, the interpretation of the year 627 BCE marks a clear rupture with Bright's traditional view, as Lundbom, like Holladay, presents an alternative interpretation, although not exactly the same. Whereas Holladay considers 627 BCE as the year of Jeremiah's birth,[221] Lundbom argues that it corresponds with the year of the prophet's call, when the prophet was still young like Samuel, and suggests that the time in which the prophet started his public ministry was not necessarily the same as the year of his call, as Jeremiah's public career could have started later sometime after 622 BCE.[222]

For Lundbom, since Jeremiah's home was Anathoth, part of the northern kingdom, one can expect that the prophet had access to the northern traditions.[223] Such suggestions, however, are nothing new, as others, such as Wilson, De Winkel and McConville, also locate the prophet within the Ephraimite tradition in line with Hosea and Amos,[224] although McConville accepts that the book might contain later reflections on the prophet's words addressed to the situation of the exile.[225] Lundbom's justification for the year 622 BCE is based on the prophet's joyful response to the finding of the book of the law. Like Hyatt and Holladay, he also claims that Jeremiah had access to some form of early Deuteronomy, although he delimitates it to Deuteronomy 32 and identifies it with the Josiah's lawbook.[226] Lundbom, however, does not present any issue in attributing the final phase of the formation of the book to Baruch and Seraiah based on ancient tradition, which suggests that the former was taken to Egypt whilst the latter went to Babylon, and modern opinions about the origins of 𝔊- and 𝔐-Jeremiah

[221] Holladay, 'Coherent', 58-73; —, 'Years', 130-42.
[222] Jack R. Lundbom, 'Rhetorical Structure in Jeremiah 1', *ZAW* 103 (1991):210; — 'Jeremiah 15, 15-21 and the Call of Jeremiah', *SJOT* 9 (1995):153.
[223] For a detailed view of Lundbom's chronological reconstruction see his *The Early Career of the Prophet Jeremiah* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012), 67-83.
[224] Robert R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1980), 231-51; H. Lalleman – De Winkel, *Jeremiah in Prophetic Tradition: An Examination of the Book of Jeremiah in Light of Israel's Prophetic Tradition* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 6.
[225] J. Gordon McConville, 'Jeremiah: Prophet and Book', *TyndB* 42 (1991):94-95.
[226] Holladay, 'Fresh', 409-11; Hyatt, 'Deuteronomy', 163-72; Jack R. Lundbom, 'The Lawbook of the Josianic Reform', *CBQ* 38 (1976):302; —, '"I Brought You Into the Garden Land (Jer 2:7)"', *SRR* 12 (2009):6-7.

since they associate the emergence of the Greek version with Egypt whilst the birth of the Masoretic version is attributed to Babylon.[227]

Such a rationale represented by Bright, Holladay, Weippert and Lundbom in which most of the prophet message is preserved in the book influenced others like Schökel and Diaz leading them to the following conclusion:

> la investigación bíblica ha ido moderando su postura con respecto a la obra de Jeremías. Ciertamente, no podemos atribuir al profeta la redaccíon de los textos B, que hablan de él en tercera persona. Tampoco el capítulo 52, basado en 2 Re 24,18-25,30. Esto no significa que Jeremías escriese el resto del libro. Por el cap. 36 sabemos que él se limitaba a dictar a Baruc. Y este dictado sufrió numerosos retoques y añadidos en los años y siglos siguientes. Pero el libro de Jeremías contiene su mensaje en mayor parte de lo que a veces se ha dicho. También contiene la interpretación y adaptación que hicieron de esa palabra sus discípulos. Por eso, preguntarse qué textos son de Jeremías y cuáles no resulta en bastantes casos estéril. La palabra profética, pronunciada en la historia, continúa propagándose a lo largo de la historia, engendrando una palabra nueva.[228]

Even though Schökel and Diaz attempt to distance themselves from Mowinckel, the essence of Mowinckel's idea still seems present, although their judgment is significantly closer to Bright. Nonetheless, it seems to me that apart from research done mainly in North America, studies on Jeremiah have been far from moderate concerning what can be attributed to the historical prophet, although there are still a few exceptions in Europe. To say the least, there is a lack of consensus. In fact, in Europe there is a tendency in Jeremiah studies of moving in the opposite direction, which can somehow begin to be sensed in a different line of argument proposed by Nicholson. There are other scholars who side with some form of the biographical approach;[229] nevertheless, the sample above is sufficient to provide an idea about principles involved.

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[227] Id., 'Baruch, Seraiah and Expanded Colophons in the Book of Jeremiah', *JSOTS* 36 (1986):108-109.
[228] L. Alonso Schökel e J. L. Sicre Diaz, *Profetas: Comentario*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1987), 416.
[229] E.g., Jeremiah Unterman, *From Repentance to Redemption: Jeremiah's Though in Transition*, JSOTSup 54 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987).

(b) Socio-Literary Approach

A different reaction, more prevalent in Europe, emphasises the socio-literary aspect of the book and is inclined to take some distance from the historical prophet focusing on the literature as such.[230] Although Nicholson did something similar placing the sermons within the exilic milieu,[231] a fundamental difference within the following responses is their resistance towards the uniformity of the so-called Deuteronomistic sections.

Once the notion of the Deuteronomistic history began to face challenges, the association between Jeremiah and the Deuteronomistics also started to fade. Several revisions appeared since Noth's original proposal of Deuteronomistic history, such as the double or even triple redactions, pre-exilic and Josianic Deuteronomistic history, Deuteronomic language, etc.[232] More specifically in terms of Jeremiah's uniform redaction, Wanke argues that 'die Fremdberichte des Jeremiabuchs nicht als ein einheitliches Werk eines Verfassers mit einer das Ganze bestimmenden Grundabsicht verstanden werden können' since distinctive origins, structures and tendencies indicate three different traditions 'denen die zur Baruchschrift gewöhnlich gerechneten Stücke zuzuordnen sind: A. 19 $_{1\text{-}20}$ 6 $_{26\text{-}29}$ und 36; B. 37-44; C. 45 und 51 $_{59\text{-}64}$.'[233] For this reason, Wanke concludes that 'es ist schwierig, für diese so neu entstandene Gattung einen Namen zu finden, da sich der Begriff der Biographic nur höchst unvollkommen

[230] Martti Nissinen, 'The Historical Dilemma of Biblical Prophetic Studies', in *Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah,* ed. by Hans M. Barstad and Reinhard G. Kratz, BZAW 388 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 103-105.
[231] Nicholson, *Preaching*, 11-16.
[232] Anthony Campbell, 'Martin Noth and the Deuteronomistic History', in *History of Israel's Traditions: The Heritage of Martin Noth,* ed. Steve L. McKenzie and M. Patrick Graham, JSOTSup 182 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 31-62 and Walter Dietrich, 'Martin Noth and the Future of the Deuteronomistic History', in *The History of Israel's Traditions: The Heritage of Martin Noth,* ed. Steve L. McKenzie and M. Patrick Graham, JSOTSup 182 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 153-74.
[233] Gunther Wanke, *Untersuchungen zur sogennanten Baruchschrift,* BZAW 122 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971), 1-5, 144.

dafür eignet'.[234] Similarly, Migsch proposes a significant different hypothesis of Baruch's writings in which:

> Der rekonstruierte Text enthält 34,1-7; 32,2-5; 37,3-38,28a+, somit auch die bisher als redaktionell bewertete Perikope 32,2-5. Unserer Untersuchung zufolge handelt es sich bei 34,1-7; 32,2-5; 37,3-36,28a+ um eine ursprüngliche literarische Einheit. Dieser Berichtstext ist jedoch nur ein Teil eines größeren literarischen Komplexes. So bildet die von LOHFINK rekonstruierte Einheit Kap. 26; 36 den ursprünglich unmittelbar vorangehenden Text, während in Teilen von 38,28b-43,7 noch eine Fortsetzung vermutet werden kann. Damit wird aber die These einer die Fremdberichte umfassenden 'Baruchschrift' in einer gegenüber früheren Bestimmungen allerdings sehr stark modifizierten Form erneut aufgestellt.[235]

Pohlmann highlights two flaws in Thiel's unified Deuteronomistic redaction of Jeremiah, arguing that:

> Weil für *Thiel* das wichtigste 'Kriterium' der zu dtr. Redaktion zu rechnenden Texte nach wie vor die Existenz dtn. und dtr. Wendungen darstellt, kann er im wesentlichen alle von deuteronomistischer Sprache geprägten Texte der Redaktion zuordnen und so zu dem Ergebnis einer einzigen umfassenden deuteronomistischen Redaktion gelangen.[236]

Additionally, he claims that Thiel misses an important factor, which is the dispute between the exiles and those left behind in the land, well-illustrated in Jeremiah 24:

> So bekommt *Thiel* nicht in den Blick, daß die besonders in Jer 24 vertretene Auffassung, die Heilslinie werde in der künftigen Geschichte ausschließlich über die babylonische Gola verlaufen, doch schon deutlich in die Nähe chronistischen Denkens ruckt. Auch die Darstellung der Ereignisse nach der Eroberung Jerusalems, die den Nachweis erbringen will, daß nach einer kurzen Episode unter Gedalja schließlich das Land ganz verlassen und ohne Bewohner war, kann unmöglich schon um 550 v.Chr. entstanden sein.[237]

These two points are crucial for Pohlmann's thesis, which proposes the following:

> Für die Entstehung der vorliegenden Fassung des Jeremiabuches ist im besonderen Maße ein redaktionelles Programm ausschlaggebend gewesen, dessen Ziel es war, vorgegebene Texte dahingehend zu überarbeiten, daß allein und ausschließlich die babylonische Gola

[234] Wanke, *Untersuchungen*, 152.
[235] Herbert Migsch, *Gottes Wort über das Ende Jerusalems: Eine literar-, stil- und gattungs-kritische Untersuchung des Berichtes Jeremia 34,1-7; 32,2-5; 37,3-38,28,* OBS 2 (Klosterneuburg: Österreiches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1981), 267.
[236] Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Entstehung des Jeremiabuches,* FRLANT 118 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978),16.
[237] Pohlmann, *Studien*, 17.

> (unter Jojakin) als legitime Nachfolgerin des alten 'Israel' in Jahwes Heilsplan erscheint.[238]

This favouritism towards the exiles in Babylon seems clear through the way in which Pohlmann describes the competing voices and the honourable position of the exiled king:

> Auch daß 'in der Verwerfung der Zurückgebliebenen und der Ägyptenflüchtlinge implizit die Enttäuschung der dtr. Kreise über die Fehlreaktion dieser Gruppen auf das Gericht Jahwes..., besonders ... über die wieder in den Synkretismus verfallende Bevölkerung des judäischen Territoriums, ihrer eigenen Hörer also, zum Ausdruck' komme, trifft nicht den Kern der Sache. Ausschlaggebend für die Entstehung der Rahmenkomposition Jer 21,1 - 10/Jer 24) war die Absicht des Verfassers, hier den Nachweis zu erbringen, daß sich die zusammen mit Jojakin nach Babylon Verbannten (1. Gola) hinsichtlich ihrer beanspruchten Sonderstellung auf den Propheten Jeremia und die ihm offenbarten Jahweworte berufen können.[239]

In this sense, Pohlmann goes a step further than Nicholson, arguing that the current form of the book advocates the view of the exiled Judean 'der ähnlich beim Chronisten erhoben wird, kann sich in Juda erst allmählich durchgesetzt haben'.[240] Seitz, likewise, also dedicates special attention to the exilic redaction of Jeremiah. Although it seems that his impression that literary analysis alone is insufficient to answer all the questions regarding the complex relation between Jeremiah, Deuteronomy and other writings in the OT/HB, Seitz places significant hope in socio-historical analysis and proposes 'that conflict over the theological evaluation of judgment and exile, both in 597 and 587, gave rise to one distinct level of tradition in the present Book of Jeremiah: the exilic, or Golah-redaction,' which can be found most notably in Jeremiah 21–45.[241] Not surprisingly, in recent years scholars have demonstrated an increasing interest in studying the prophetic literature within the Persian era.[242] Fischer even argues for 'eine relative späte Abfassung von Jer an, vermutlich im 4. Jh. V. Chr' claiming that the

[238] Ibid., 183.
[239] Ibid., 184.
[240] Ibid., 190.
[241] Christopher R. Seitz, *Theology in Conflict: Reactions to the Exile in the Book of Jeremiah,* BZAW 176 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989), 1-5.
[242] See essays in *The Production of Prophecy: Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud,* ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Benz Zvi (London and Oakville, CT: Equinox, 2009) and *Construct of Prophecy in the Former & Latter Prophets & Other Texts,* ed. Lester L. Grabbe & Martti Nissinen, ANEM 4 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2011).

number of allusions, references and quotations in the book suggests that the reader in question would be familiar with about one third of the OT/HB, although, unlike Pohlman and Seitz, Fischer gives the impression that Jeremiah is a product of a single author, as he claims that 'Der Autor von Jer ist uns Heutigen nicht mehr zugänglich. Er ist ein Künstler und Theologe, verborgen in seinem Buch und hinter seinem Propheten, wobei gerade diese Beziehung zu Jeremia offen bleibt'.[243]

Rom-Shiloni, however, seems more prudent concerning embracing the tendency of placing Jeremiah within the Persian era without criticism, as she discerns 'three different Babylonian exilic strands' covering between the Neo-Babylonian exilic and the early Persian periods arguing that:

> Jeremiah does not explicitly describe the conflicts between Repatriates and 'other' Judean (or foreign) communities, in a fashion similar to Ezra-Nehemiah. Yet it does bring to the fore Babylonian exilic positions which had developed in Babylon over the Neo-Babylonian exilic period, and which may be assumed to have been brought by the Babylonian Repatriates to Persian Yehud during the early Persian period.[244]

Rom-Shiloni adds that a new ingredient was introduced by the Repatriates, which was 'the mix of "exilic" ideology by appropriating for their own group Jeremiah's prophecies of consolation, which were first directed to those who had remained in Judah from the time of the Jehoiachin Exile'.[245] The introduction of this ideological aspect was extensively explored by Sharp's work in which she partially agrees with Pohlmann stating that:

> the prose of Jeremiah as a monolithic Dtr block is a mistake, but interpreters seem uncertain as regards the next step to take in addressing this issue, which is part of a larger concern having to do

[243] Georg Fischer, *Jeremia: 1–25,* vol. 1, HThKAT (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2005), 120-22.
[244] Dalit Rom-Shiloni, 'Group Identities in Jeremiah: Is It the Persian Period Conflict?' in *Palimpsest: Rhetoric, Ideology, Stylistics, and Language Relating to Persian Israel*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi et al. PHSC 5 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 44-45.
[245] Rom-Shiloni, 'Group', 46.

> with the proliferation of arguments for 'pan-Deuteronomism' in the Hebrew Bible.[246]

Much of Seitz's methodological concerns and conclusions are also shared by Sharp, who welcomes the use of multiple methods and interdisciplinary collaboration proposing:

> discernible patterns in many of the disruptions and contradictions of the book, patterns that betray the hands of two competing traditionist views. It goes without saying that not all of the textual and literary problems in Jeremiah can be solved through the redactional theory proposed here.[247]

Close to Seitz, Sharp distinguishes two conflicting theopolitical colours in Jeremiah, the Judah-based against the pro-gōlah.[248] Like Rom-Shiloni, Sharp is cautious about immediately placing Jeremiah within the Persian period and although she agrees with Pohlmann regarding a political group formed by the exiled in 597 involved in the composition of the prose sections, she is not convinced that all the questions about the complex composition of Jeremiah can be sufficiently answered by literary investigation alone, as it has been partially argued by scholars like Carroll and McKane.[249] Thus, Sharp proposes that the final form of Jeremiah allows the presence of conflicting ideologies (or theologies) and accommodates multiple voices, which are in dialogue.[250]

Carroll,[251] in particular, presented a diametric perspective especially in relation to biographical approaches, raising a number of problems regarding the reconstruction of Jeremiah's life (e.g., the discrepancy between prose and poetry, the presence of double accounts and the heavily complex redactional features).[252] Although he considered that

[246] Carolyn J. Sharp, *Prophecy and Ideology in Jeremiah: Struggles for Authority in the Deutero-Jeremianic Prose* (London: T&T Clark International, 2003), xiii.
[247] Sharp, *Prophecy*, 157.
[248] Ibid., 158-59.
[249] Ibid., 162-66.
[250] Ibid., 166-68.
[251] Carroll's extensive work on Jeremiah is spread through a number of publications and is summarised in Robert P. Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant: Uses of Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah* (London: SCM Press, 1981); —, *Jeremiah,* OTL, (London: SCM Press, 1986).
[252] Id., 'Dismantling the Book of Jeremiah and Deconstructing the Prophet', in *'Wünschet Jerusalem Frieden': Collected Communications to XIIth Congress of*

the Deuteronomist ideology played an important role in Jeremiah's redaction shaping the book according to its own agenda, like Pohlmann and others, he did not consider the Deuteronomistic activity as monolithic nor that the Deuteronomistic redaction represents the last phase of the book's composition. Yet, Carroll is uncertain about the exact period in which such a group was active, accepting that the timeframe covering the clash of interest could be anytime within the (post)exilic period.[253] Baruch's story about the rewriting of the scroll in Jeremiah 36 is probably one of the areas of major dispute between Holladay and Carroll. Whereas the former interprets it as a historical account, the latter considered the story as an editorial device formulated by the Deuteronomists accounting for their contribution in the making of Jeremiah's tradition.[254] Much of Carroll's scepticism regarding reconstructing the historical Jeremiah seems inspired by Schweitzer's *Quest for the historical Jesus*, who argued that:

> Der Jesus von Nazareth, der als Messias auftrat, die Sittlichkeit des Gottesreiches verkündete, das Himmelreich auf Erden gründete und starb, um seinem Werke die Weihe zu geben, hat nie existiert. Sie ist eine Gestalt, die vom Rationalismus entworfen, vom Liberalismus belebt und von der modernen Theologie in ein geschichtliches Gewand gekleidet wurde. Dieses Bild ist nicht von außen zerstört worden, sondern in sich selbst zusammengefallen, erschüttert und gespalten durch die tatsächlichen historischen Probleme, die eins nach dem andern auftauchen und sich trotz aller darauf verwandten List, Kunst, Künstlichkeit und Gewalt in die Gesamtanschauung, die den Jesus der Theologie der letzten hundertundfünfzig Jahre hervorgebracht hatte, nicht einebnen lassen wollten und jedesmal, kaum begraben, in neuer Form auferstanden.[255]

International Organisation for Study of the Old Testament: Jerusalem, 1986 (Frankfurt and Main: Peter Lang, 1988), 291-302.

[253] Id., *Chaos*, 13-24; —, *Jeremiah*, 65-82. The basis of Carroll's historical agnosticism in terms of dating biblical texts is given in more details in —, 'Jewgreek and Greekjew: The Hebrew Bible is all Greek to Me. Reflections on the Problematics of Dating the Origins of the Bible in Relation to Contemporary Discussion of Biblical Historiography', in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, JSOTSup 317 and ESHM 3 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 91-107.

[254] Id., 'Manuscripts Don't Burn--Inscribing the Prophetic Tradition: Reflections on Jeremiah 36', in *'Dort ziehen Schiffe dahin ...': Collected Communications to the XIVth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Paris, 1992* (Frankfurt and Main: Peter Lang, 1996), 31-42.

[255] Albert Schweitzer, *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung,* 9th ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Gmbh, 1984), 620.

Such impact on Carroll's thesis is evident by the fact that he concluded that form and redaction criticism strongly suggest that the gospels were significantly influenced by the 'post-resurrection church theology in the different presentations of Jesus.'[256] Consequently, Carroll claimed that 'just as we cannot reconstruct the historical Jesus from the church's theological view about him, so we cannot reconstruct Jeremiah from the highly developed theological presentations in the book of Jeremiah' since 'the whole book is marked by a concern to produce a theodicy, i.e., a reasoned statement which will justify the divine action of destroying the city and community.'[257] Yet the parallel between the quest for historical Jeremiah and historical Jesus is nothing new, as Jobling previously used this comparison to suggest that in a similar manner to the NT, where the redactors attributed different messianic titles to the historical Jesus, a similar phenomenon could have occurred with Jeremiah (e.g., a prophet like Moses and amongst the priests from Anathoth).[258]

Another striking contrast between Holladay's and Carroll's approaches is his *fictional* status given to Jeremiah in which he argued

> that the book purports to be the work of a fictional character called Jeremiah and then to proceed from that point to treat the work *as if* such a figure behaved and spoke in the ways attributed to him in the book. We would understand Odysseus (Homer), Macbeth (Shakespeare), Lemuel Gulliver (Swift), or Leopold Bloom (Joyce) in such ways, and there is no good reason to treat biblical characters in a different fashion. What we would not do is to insist on a one-to-one correspondence between the fictional characters and any historical counterparts we might imagine of them (e.g. the Scottish king Macbeth or the models used by Joyce for Bloom). A similar approach must be advocated for reading Jeremiah. We should treat the character of Jeremiah as a work of fiction and recognize the impossibility of moving from the book to the real 'historical' Jeremiah, given our complete lack of knowledge independent of the book itself.[259]

[256] Carroll, *Chaos*, 25-26.
[257] Ibid., 26-27.
[258] David Jobling, 'The Quest of the Historical Jeremiah: Hermeneutical Implications of Recent Literature', *USQR* 34 (1978):3-12.
[259] Robert P. Carroll, *Jeremiah,* T&T Clark SG (London: T&T Clark, 1997), 12; —, 'Whose Prophets? Whose History? Whose Social Reality? Troubling the Interpretative Community Again: Notes Towards a Response to T. W. Overholt's Critique', *JSOTS* 48 (1990):40-41.

Carroll's agnosticism sometimes gives the impression of bordering something very close to Thompson's view about the historicity of the Bible where he claims that:

> the evidence suggests that the Bible, like Shakespeare, often invokes fictional kings in confecting its stories. This is the very nature of literature. Though I reside within the community of Elsinore in Denmark, and can see Hamlet's castle every time I go to the seashore, I cannot hope to find in the patterns of Shakespeare's poetry any evidence that this storied king might have been historical.[260]

Analogically, whilst the beginning of modern Jeremiah studies reproduced historical critical methods applied to the Pentateuch and Joshua–2 Kings using source, form and redaction criticism, Carroll's and Holladay's antagonist interpretations, to some extent, resonate with the emerging minimalist versus maximalist debate which would eventually occupy the scene in biblical studies during most of the following decade. Dating biblical texts has always provoked a heated discussion in biblical scholarship, but especially during the 1990s some scholars started presenting an increasing disposition to credit minimal value to the Bible as a historical source regarding the events described within it, hence the term minimalist.[261] Consequently, Israel had little relevance for ancient Near East history, as these scholars dated these texts to much later in the Persian or even the Hellenistic period. This perspective faced objections amongst scholars from opposite views known as maximalists.[262] The rhetorical questions introduced by Holt and Sharp below seem sensitive to a more balanced view between biographical and literary approaches:

> do we as scholars, with our minimalist hermeneutics of suspicion, miss traditional historiography and/or our former historical naïveté, one way or another? Furthermore, from a hermeneutical point of view we should ponder the differences and similarities between historical-critical

[260] Thomas L. Thompson, *The Bible in History: How Writers Create Past,* Pim 45 (London: Pimlico, 2000), 15.
[261] Megan Bishop Moore and Brad E. Kelle, *Biblical History and Israel's Past: The Changing Study of the Bible and History* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2011), 33-37.
[262] Moore, *Biblical*, 33-37.

> interest in the person of Jeremiah, which has indeed ideological/theological, and the current approach. [263]

Despite some creative hermeneutics in Holladay's approach (e.g., Jeremiah's birth year instead of the beginning of his career and the septennial reading of Deuteronomy), his rupture from Bright's traditional chronology does not eliminates Bright's shadow in his biographically driven interpretation. Such a proximity between them is evidenced by the fact that Holladay reconstructs Jeremiah's time based on the information extracted from the book adopting a similar approach to exactly what Barton criticises in Bright's *History of Israel*. According to Barton, it tends 'to assume that biblical accounts will always turn out to be true in some sense, though it may need tweaking at some points, and that all the accounts of an event will somehow prove to be compatible.'[264] In this sense, Brueggemann is right in affirming that 'whereas Holladay is concerned in some way with "the quest of the historical Jeremiah," Carroll, so to speak, is engaged in a "quest for the Deuteronomic Jeremiah"'[265]

Despite that, there is one area of surprising affinity between Holladay and Fischer. Apart from their significant differences concerning the timeline attributed to the composition of the book, one can still find surprising similarities between these two scholars, as both defend a single authorship of Jeremiah, who at the time of writing was aware of earlier material. The main difference, however, lies in the dating of Jeremiah and its sources of inspiration. As Holladay dates Jeremiah relatively early, he consequently needs to date the references used in the book to pre-exilic times to support his argument that the prophet had access to early material. Fischer, by contrast, dates Jeremiah much later, but the rationale is very similar, as he argues that the author of Jeremiah had access to a significant part of the OT/HB.

[263] Else Holt & Carolyn J. Sharp, 'Introduction' to *Jeremiah Invented: Constructions and Deconstructions of Jeremiah,* ed. Else Holt & Carolyn J. Sharp (London and New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), xv.
[264] Barton, *Nature*, 45.
[265] Walter Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah: Exile and Homecoming* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1998), 10.

To my mind, Fischer adopts a similar move to that embraced by Van Seters in his revision of the documentary hypothesis, which instead of abandoning it, he moved the Yahwistic sources to much later during the exilic period.[266]

A somewhat middle ground position is represented by McKane, as he stood somewhere in between Holladay's biographical and Carroll's literary approaches incorporating textual evidence based on comparisons between 𝔊- and 𝔐-Jeremiah combined with the analysis of the prose and poetry relation to support his *rolling corpus* proposal in which he tracked the development of Jeremiah arguing that:

> […] small pieces of pre-existing text trigger exegesis or commentary. MT is to be understood as a commentary or commentaries built on pre-existing elements of the Jeremianic *corpus*. Where the argument is that poetry generates prose there is an assumption that the poetry which has generated prose comment is attributable, for the most part, to the prophet Jeremiah. Where the thesis is that the prose generates prose, the kernel may not be regarded as giving access to the period of prophet Jeremiah and preserving the sense words which he spoke. In general, the theory is bound up with the persuasion that the rolling *corpus* 'rolled' over a long period of time and was still rolling over in the post-exilic period.[267]

As can be observed, McKane did not rule out the historical Jeremiah as Carroll did; however, he did not go as far as Holladay or Weippert in crediting all the editorial stages to the prophet. His assessment of the prose tradition, nevertheless, seems closer to Nicholson, Pohlmann, Carroll and others mentioned earlier. In this sense, McKane's rolling corpus echoes Fishbane's conclusion regarding the legacy of biblical interpretation in ancient Israel to postbiblical times in which he concluded that:

> the broad range of stylistic patterns from many periods, together with their corresponding technical terms, strategies, or procedures, suggest that exegetical techniques and traditions developed locally and cumulatively in ancient Israel from monarchic times and continued into the Graeco-Roman period, where they served as a major reservoir for the Jewish schools and techniques of exegesis then developing.[268]

[266] John Van Seters, *Prologue to History: The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis* (Louisville, KY: WJK, 1992).
[267] William McKane, *Jeremiah,* vol. 1, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), lxxxiii.
[268] Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 525.

Part of McKane's rolling corpus seems close to Migsch's final remarks, which welcome the use of textual critical work to provide a robust foundation for literary criticism, and are extensively explored by Tov and Bogaert.[269] On this aspect, however, McKane is reluctant in accepting a planned redaction of Jeremiah, as he rejected Thiel's uniform Deuteronomistic redaction of Jeremiah and somehow returns to Duhm's and Mowinckel's position, arguing that

> There is more of accident, arbitrariness and fortuitous twists and turns than has been generally allowed for. The processes are dark and in a measure irrecoverable, and we should not readily assume them to possess such rationality that they will yield to a systematic elucidation.[270]

Thus McKane concludes, so claiming that the scroll developed without any 'systematic, comprehensive scheme of editing, but exegetical additions of small scope, operating within limited areas of text.'[271] Nonetheless, if one considers the technical distinction between the notions of redaction and *Fortschreibung*, then the friction between McKane and Tov-Bogaert is perhaps reduced at the terminological level. According to Williamson, the use of the term redaction criticism has been used to broadly and its use should be employed with more precision.[272] As the term redaction has been indiscriminately used to address almost any variation of expansion to an existing text without further consideration of the procedure involved in such expansions alongside its consequences, Williamson argues that redaction must involve copying the whole work physically.[273] By contrast, Williamson claims that as in some cases the text was only glossed (i.e., only small insertions were added without the need of recopying the whole manuscript), such minimal changes should be referred to using a different terminology.[274] These minor textual interventions seem to

[269] Tov, 'Aspects', 145-67; Bogaert, 'Baruch', 168-73.
[270] McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, xlix–l.
[271] Ibid., lxxxi.
[272] H. G. M. Williamson, 'Redaction Criticism', in *Biblical Interpretation and Method: Essays in Honour of John Barton*, ed. Katharine J. Dell & Paul M. Joyce (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 26-27.
[273] Williamson, 'Redaction', 28.
[274] Ibid., 28-29.

correspond to the term *Fortschreibung*, coined by Zimmerli. Despite acknowledging 'daβ der Prozeβ der Gesamtredaktion nicht säuberlich von dem Vorgang der "Fortschreibung" und der Nachinterpretation der einzelnen Redeeinheiten getrennt werden kann', he refers to *Fortschreibung* as

> eingeschobene Stücke […], welche zuvor bestehende Zusammenhänge zerreiβen und deren Einfügung einer jungen Phase des Redaktionsvorganges, welcher damit als ein Phasen gestaffelter Prozeβ erscheint, angehört.[275]

Personally, the distinction between redaction and *Fortschreibung* might have a didactical value, as it explains different phenomena, such as the expansions from 𝔊- to 𝔐-Jeremiah and their different organisation. But although such a distinction appears to concern different levels and intensities of editorial interventions, I am not so sure if the boundaries between copying and writing were clearly established amongst scribal activity.[276] Furthermore, Schmid highlights the importance of evaluating such expansions in light of the entire book or sometimes even collections of books, as the full picture reveals the text's new theological meaning.[277] Particularly his monograph on Jeremiah 30–33 argues that these chapters are interlinked with the rest of the book, although not in a homogeneous way as previously proposed by Thiel but still not unplanned as suggested by McKane.[278]

After all, the distinctive features between Holladay's, Carroll's and McKane's approaches are symptomatic, as they somehow reflect the lack of consensus regarding Jeremiah's prose tradition alongside the compositional process of the scroll. One increasing trend that seems visible from Duhm to more recent approaches in biblical studies,

[275] Walther Zimmerli, *Ezechiel 1*, BKAT XIII/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins GmbH, 1969), 109-110.
[276] Although Van Der Toorn separates the different forms of scribal production into transcription, invention, compilation, expansion adaptation and integration, he admits that such a division is artificial and only has didactical purposes cf. Karel Van Der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2007), 109-41.
[277] Schmid, *Gibt*, 64-67.
[278] Id., *Buchgestalten*, 376-81.

however, is a growing interest in the current form of the book, which started to enter the picture with literary criticism in the organic sense. But whilst redaction criticism has been more interested in the whole editorial process including the final stages of the composition, a completely new dimension along the lines of the French *critique littéraire* also came forth with new literary theories coming onto the scene.[279]

2.3. Synchronic Literary Criticism: Text Centred Approaches

Whilst in the past biblical studies were predominantly diachronic in nature, a new synchronic trend has emerged challenging the status quo shifting from an author driven and historically oriented to a text-centred perspective (or a strictly literary analysis).[280] Such shift owes a significant amount of its theoretical foundations to De Saussure's posthumous work in which he distinguished the terms synchronic and diachronic as:

> […] nous préférons parler de linguistique *synchronique* et linguistique *diachronique*. Est synchronique tout ce qui se rapporte à l'aspect statique de notre science, diachronique tout ce qui a trait aux évolutions. De même *synchronie* et *diachronie* désigneront respectivement un état de langue et une phase d'évolution.[281]

Another important point is De Saussure's view on the relationship between history and the present state of language since he argued that:

> […] Aussi le linguiste qui veut comprendre cet état doit-il faire table rase de tout ce qui l'a produit et ignorer la diachronie. Il ne peut entrer dans la conscience des sujets parlants qu'en supprimant le passé. L'intervention de l'histoire ne peut que fausser son jugement.[282]

More significantly, however, is the fact that De Saussure did not reject the existence of the diachronic dimension but he proposed a

[279] J. Cheryl Exum and David J. A. Clines, 'The New Literary Criticism', in *The New Literary Criticism and the Hebrew Bible,* ed. J. Cheryl Exum and David J. A. Clines, JSOTSup 143 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 15-16.
[280] Exum and Clines, 'New', 11-12.
[281] Ferdinand De Saussure, *Cours de Linguistique Générale* (Paris: Éditions Payot & Rivages, 1916), 117.
[282] De Saussure, *Cours*, 117.

hierarchical system in which the synchronic aspect was prioritised on the grounds that it gives immediate access to the (literary) reality claiming that 'ces faits diachroniques – on le voit clairement – n'ont aucun rapport avec le fait statique qu'ils ont produit; ils sont d'ordre different.'[283] His distinction between diachronic and synchronic approaches has had a direct influence on newer literary theories, which is evident in Culler's work, as it argues that

> The notion of relational identity is crucial to the semiotic or structural analysis of all kinds of social and cultural phenomena, because in formulating the rules of the system one must identify the units on which the rules operate and thus must discover when two objects or actions count as instances of the same unit. It is also crucial because it constitutes a break with the notion of historical or evolutionary identity.[284]

Historical aspects are minimised on the following the grounds:

> The relations between individual units and their historical antecedents are irrelevant in that they do not define the units as elements of the system. The *synchronic* study of language is an attempt to reconstruct the system as a functional whole […]; whereas the *diachronic* study of language is an attempt to trace the historical evolution of its elements through various stages. The two must be kept separate lest the diachronic point of view falsify one's synchronic description […]. To try to incorporate the historical identity into one's grammar would be to falsify the relational identity and hence the value that each of the words has in the language as now spoken. Language is a system of interrelated items and the value and identity of these items is defined by their place in the system rather than by their history'.[285]

Consequently, the focus shifts from seeking the meaning from what is behind the text to what is within the text. Exum and Clines describe this literary autonomy from the control of history in new criticism as:

> an attitude to texts that sees them as works of art in their own right, rather than as representations of the sensibilities of their authors. Against the romantic view of texts as giving immediate access to the ideas and feelings of great minds, the new criticism regards texts as coherent intelligible wholes more or less independent of their authors, creating meaning through the integration of their elements. And against a more positivistic scholarship of the historical-critical kind, new criticism emphasizes the literariness of literary texts and tries to identify the characteristics of literary writing.[286]

[283] Ibid., 119-20.
[284] Jonathan Culler, *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature,* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge Classics, 2002), 13.
[285] Culler, *Structuralist*, 13.
[286] Exum and Clines, 'New', 15.

This dismissal of the value of the author for text interpretation echoes the title of Barthes' *The Death of the Author*[287] and is transpired in Kessler's introduction to the application of this new impulse to Jeremiah studies in which he mentions that 'there is minimal interest here in mining or "excavating" this piece of literature for historical nuggets or in discovering what might lie behind the text'.[288] The lack of interest in authorship is even clearer when Kessler explicitly claims that 'authorship bears minimal relationship to exegesis'.[289] He justifies working with 'the form that the last "editing" or "writing" of the book assumed' to prevent speculations, arguing that:

> The final editors or authors have put their (kerygmatic) stamp on the book as a whole. A prominent member of the Jewish community has gone so far as to claim that the 'final redactor' [R] is *Rabbenu*, that is 'our teacher.' Christians might be a bit more cautious, in part because they read this book (and all of the Old Testament) in light of the New Testament. Nevertheless, the claim at least takes the final form of the text as seriously as it merits being taken.[290]

Nonetheless, like historical critical approaches, new criticism is a broad umbrella, which accommodates a wide range of disciplines (e.g., rhetorical and narrative criticism) focusing on the synchronic aspect.[291] The limitation of space and the multiple possibilities of new literary criticism allow me to present only some aspects applied to Jeremiah studies. One of them can be observed in Polk's *Prophetic Persona*, a resource employed to refer to Jeremiah 'as depicted in the text' in his 'attempt to redress the imbalance' caused by the tension between the historical figure and literary persona.[292] Polk's interpretation is grounded on the foundations of new criticism just mentioned above, as he argues that the Bible is a literary work that 'constructs its own world,' which like a language, is formed by 'a "system of relations"

[287] Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', *Aspen* 5-6 (1967).
[288] Martin Kessler, 'Introduction' to *Reading the Book of Jeremiah: A Search for Coherence,* ed. Martin Kessler (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), xii-xiii.
[289] Kessler, 'Introduction', xii-xiii.
[290] Ibid., xiii.
[291] See essays in in *Reading the Book of Jeremiah: A Search for Coherence,* ed. Martin Kessler (Winona Lake, IN: Einsenbrauns, 2004).
[292] Timothy Polk, *The Prophetic Persona: Jeremiah and the Language of the Self,* JSOTSup 32 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 10.

and a "functional whole."'[293] Carroll was probably the closest to the notion of the prophetic persona in a transition period in which biblical studies were moving from a historical oriented to a more strictly literary driven, as he explicitly talked about Jeremiah as a fictional character alluding to Shakespeare.[294] In any case, the relationship between the different parts of the text provides meaning and anything from outside the text (e.g., diachronic investigation) should not interfere with this process. Consequently, Polk claims that the timeline created by the text is one that should be considered, as that is the one in which the prophetic persona is situated.[295] Moreover, Polk suggests that the sequential linear reading should be respected without avoiding contradictory material as the meaning is provided by the whole and in the encounter of the reader with the text.[296]

The idea of *intertextuality*, however, potentializes the possibility of new meanings when a text is read together alongside other texts. Carroll borrowed the notion of intertextuality from literary critics claiming that:

> the term 'intertextuality' defines the literary object/event/word as an 'intersection of textual surfaces' and as 'a mosaic of quotations'. In other words, a text is always both pretextual and contextual, as well as being textual. It is not simply generated by a writer, but is a complex production formed by prior textual events and the interaction of writers/redactors/readers with such a contexting textuality.[297]

Additionally, Carroll proposed that 'the notion of otherness and repetition' are essential for establishing the essence of intertextuality, as these elements demonstrate 'the codedness of textuality' highlighting 'the fact that a text reflects as a system (or code) of other textual factors (or structures). Every text makes its readers aware of other texts. It insists on an intertextual reading.'[298] He stated that this

[293] Polk, *Persona*, 15.
[294] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, GS, 12.
[295] Polk, *Persona*, 15.
[296] Ibid., 15-18.
[297] Robert P. Carroll, 'Intertextuality and the Book of Jeremiah: Animadversions on Text and Theory', in *The New Literary Criticism and the Hebrew Bible,* ed. J. Cheryl Exum and David J. A. Clines, JSOTSup 143 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 57-58.
[298] Carroll, 'Intertextuality', 58.

intertextual relation is present in any reading of the Bible in whichever canon preferences including even, to some extent, modern theories of the composition of the Bible, even though they propose different theories and conclusions (e.g., the documentary hypothesis, the so-called Deuteronomistic history and Jeremiah).[299]

New meanings, however, can also be generated from metaphors, as Hill explores in the notion of 'metaphor as a figure of speech' applied to the figure of Babylon in 𝔐-Jeremiah using Ricoeur's notion of a metaphor, which suggests that 'modern semantics treatment calls into question' the following 'presuppositions of classic rhetoric': Metaphor is a trope, a figure of discourse that concerns denomination; it represents the extension of the meaning of a name through deviation from the literal meaning of words; the reason for this deviation is resemblance; the function of resemblance is to ground the substitution of the figurative meaning of a word in place of the literal meaning, which could have been used in the same place; hence the substituted signification does not represent any semantic innovation for which the figurative word is a substitute. In effect, substitution plus restitution equals zero; since it does not represent a semantic innovation, a metaphor does not furnish any new information about reality. This is why it can be counted as one of the emotive functions of discourse.[300]

As reported by Hill, 'the giving of an unaccustomed name to something creates a necessary tension within the metaphorical relationship, the effect of which is to produce a new meaning.'[301] This new metaphorical meaning occurs when the literal meaning is suspended creating ambiguity in which a different 'level of meaning' appears without excluding the literal one; however, it is the metaphor that gives sense transforming the meaning of its object.[302] This idea of

[299] Ibid., 58-65.
[300] Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus Meaning* (Fort Worth, TX: The Texas Christian University Press, 1976), 47.
[301] John Hill, *Friend or Foe? The Figure of Babylon in the Book of Jeremiah MT,* BIS 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 14.
[302] Hill, *Friend*, 14-15.

a metaphor is not confined within a sentence, but it extends to the text, as Hill argues that 'metaphors can exist as a "local event in the text" and are interpreted within the broader context of the text.'[303]

A further ramification of this type of reading driven by the text as a piece of literature, however, is the role of the reader, as some of the scholars in this section already signalled. In this sense, Hong correctly observes that

> the incongruity of a range of diverse studies lumped under the single heading *synchronic* became more serious than was the case with text-oriented approaches. Unlike in linguistics, where there is only one object – namely language – in reader-oriented studies of literature there are at least three axes, each with its own temporality: author, text, and reader.[304]

According to Clines, Fowl and Porter, this significant transformation of the discipline of biblical studies, allowing a rich plurality of methods, owes a great deal to the democratization of the discipline once dominated by traditional diachronic methods.[305]

2.4. Reader Centred Approaches

The emergence of new socio-literary theories attempting to address new questions involving gender, ethnic and political agendas, has challenged the predominance of classical methods in biblical studies stimulating the effervescence of diverse critical methods of biblical interpretation with the tendency to synchronic readings, inevitably inviting the readers to the discussion.[306] Alongside new literary methods mentioned above, new social theories came to light expressing a plurality of voices and consequently questioning the dominant Western academy. I would even venture to say that perhaps such

[303] Ibid., 15.
[304] Koog P. Hong, 'Synchronic and Diachrony in Contemporary Biblical Interpretation', *CBQ* 75 (2013):529.
[305] Cf. David J. A. Clines, Stephen E. Fowl and Stanley E. Porter, 'Preface' to *The Bible in Three Dimensions: Essays in Celebration of Forty Years of Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield,* ed. David J. A. Clines, Stephen E. Fowl and Stanley E. Porter, JSOTSup 87 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 13-14.
[306] Eryl W. Davies, *Biblical Criticism: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 1-10.

democratisation of biblical interpretation already started during the Reformation with the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages.

Similar to historical critical and new critical approaches, however, there is an immense variety of reader-oriented approaches, such as gender, political, ethnic and theological orientation.[307] Two of them seem particularly relevant to this study: postcolonial and theological (or ideological readings). Regarding postcolonial interpretation, it is significantly indebted to Said, whose *Orientalism* voices a profound discontentment with other orientalists who have been influenced by Western culture and consequently misinterpreting the Eastern world.[308] Sugirtharajah might be the main exponent scholar who applies postcolonial theory to biblical interpretation in which he 'examines the collusion between colonialism and exegesis, and contest[s] the Eurocentric construction of Christian origins.'[309] Instead of simply conceiving postcolonialism as 'a physical expulsion of imperial powers' or 'recounting the evils of the empire, and drawing a contrast with nobility and virtues of natives and their cultures,' he pictures it as 'an active confrontation with the dominant system of thought, its lopsidedness and inadequacies.'[310] Thus, postcolonial criticism 'is a mental attitude rather than a method' that revaluates 'a Western ethnocentrism which passed off as universalism'.[311]

Davidson uses the postcolonial critical framework in his interpretation of Jeremiah's resistance to imperial power.[312] One significant area of intersection between postcolonial studies and Jeremiah further investigated by him is the issue of forced (dis)location

[307] See essays in *Prophecy and Power: Jeremiah in Feminist and Postcolonial Perspective,* ed. Christl M. Maier and Carolyn J. Sharp, LHBOTS 577 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013).
[308] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Classics, 1978), xi-xxiii.
[309] R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Reconfigurations: An Alternative Way of Reading the Bible and Doing Theology* (London: SCM Press, 2003), 13.
[310] Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonialism*, 15.
[311] Ibid., 15-16.
[312] Steed Vernyl Davidson, *Empire and Exile: Postcolonial Readings of the Book of Jeremiah,* LHBOTS 542 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 2-4.

or migration,[313] which is a field that has recently attracted increasing interest amongst biblical scholars.[314] Petersen, particularly, presents helpful insights arguing that the prophetic discourse during the neo Babylonian period was not moulded exclusively by its present-time, but included the past under the new Assyrian power.[315] For Davidson, the highly complex nature of Jeremiah, involving issues, such as text transmission, multiple authorship, editing, dating, etc, welcomes interdisciplinary methods in which he believes that

> postcolonial theory provides a reading strategy that honours both historicist and literary approaches to the book of Jeremiah. The postcolonial approach views the book in the historical circumstances that generate its message and its reception in later communities. It highlights potential discursive and other connections between the texts and contemporary reading communities that share a history of colonization.[316]

One aspect that is briefly touched on by Carroll's intertextual analysis is the ideological (or theological) reading regarding one's canonical preferences.[317] Amongst different canonical proposals, perhaps, Childs is the most known scholar in this area. One might wonder whether a canonical approach is an extension of redaction criticism or if it should be considered as another variation of new literary analysis or even reader response analysis if one considers that Childs clearly defended the Hebrew Canon.[318] Although this is, to some extent, a reasonable observation, the reason I placed Childs' type of canonical criticism within the reader response category is due to his theological oriented choice for the Hebrew canon. As Barton states,

> The historical problems surrounding the acceptance of the canon and the definition of its extent in each community are enormous, but do not immediately concern us here. Childs holds that for Jews and Christians

[313] Davidson, *Empire*, 4-8.
[314] See essays in *The Prophets Speak on Forced Migration,* ed. Mark J. Boda et al. AIL 21 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2015).
[315] David L. Petersen, 'Prophetic Rhetoric and Exile', in *The Prophets Speak on Forced Migration,* ed. Mark J. Boda et al. AIL 21 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2015), 14-16.
[316] Davidson, *Empire*, 53-54.
[317] Carroll, 'Intertextuality', 58-65.
[318] Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1979), 88-106.

> alike the text which ought to be regarded as normative when practicing canonical method is the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Scripture.[319]

Along similar lines, Barr states the following:

> The 'trajectories' of Childs' latest work are indeed a sign of some measure of return towards the diachronic as an element that can be valuable within the total perspectives of the canon and the final form of the text. What is not clear to me is that these trajectories are truly diachronic or historical. They seem to me to belong more to the nature of the logical or theological: they are links which are theologically desirable within a particular theological system.[320]

One can, thereby, argue that Childs' canonical approach proposes a limited intertextual reading restricted to a well-established collection of texts within specific Jewish-Christian communities of faith.[321] Although Kessler recognises that the early church was influenced by the Greek canon, he uses the same kind of justification presented by Childs for the Masoretic text, also hinted at his literary theological interpretation of Jeremiah 50–51.[322] His method analyses how the tradition blocks related to each other concluding that the climatic position of the oracles against Babylon was not an accident, but it is an essential element in the canonical book in its integrity.[323] For Childs, the canonical shape of Jeremiah determines a close relationship 'between the law and the prophets' in contrast to critical scholarship, which attempts to evaluate Jeremiah's view regarding the Josianic reform and the relationship between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy.[324] Childs' canonical reading of Jeremiah also seems reluctant to historical and redactional reconstructions due to its restrictive nature of actualizing the prophetic message to the exilic community as he argued that as Scripture, Jeremiah continues to have relevance to 'every future generation' of those who accept it as Scripture.[325]

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[319] Barton, *Reading*, 91.
[320] James Barr, 'The Synchronic, the Diachronic and the Historical: A Triangular Relationship?' in *Synchronic or Diachronic: A Debate in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. Johannes C. De Moor, OTS 34 (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill, 1995), 13-14.
[321] Childs, *Scripture*, 88-106.
[322] Martin Kessler, *Battle of Gods: The God of Israel versus Marduk of Babylon: A Literary/Theological Interpretation of Jeremiah 50–51* (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 8-9.
[323] Kessler, *Battle*, 199.
[324] Childs, *Introduction*, 353.
[325] Ibid., 353-54.

Here, however, is an area where the strict distinction between emic and etic starts facing some complication, as it is not always easy to draw such boundaries. On this issue, Feleppa questions the observer's ability to describe the studied culture objectively.[326] For example, even Duhm, the father of modern critical Jeremiah studies who lived in an era in which the quest for such objectivity was heavily emphasised, could not resist bringing his own cultural influence when he compared the prophet's disappointing experience with Jerusalem with Luther's disillusion with Rome.[327] As the Bible becomes part of particular communities, what was initially studied from an emic perspective now turns into etic and vice versa; consequently, the use of both terms is not used consistently in the field of biblical studies.[328] Jensen even plays down the emic and etic distinctions arguing that their importance only matters for methodological and theoretical reasons, but they have no interpretative and epistemological value.[329] For Ulin, these categories should not be seen as mutually exclusive, but as complimentary in a way that makes the hermeneutic task still indispensable.[330] As Schmid observes the influence of natural and exact sciences in the field of humanities through its technicalisation has dramatically impacted biblical studies diminishing its hermeneutical abilities.[331]

In the same way that the editors of the biblical text borrowed ancient traditions to compose their own narratives according to the new demands of their contexts, readers from distinctive settings have used

[326] Robert Feleppa, 'Emics, Etics, and Social Objectivity', *CA* 27 (1986):249-51.
[327] Duhm, *Buch*, 56.
[328] Compare how Davies and Esler use these terms in opposite ways cf. Philip R. Davies, *Whose Bible is it Anyway?* JSOTSup 204 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 27-55 and Philip F. Esler, 'The Madness of Saul: A Cultural Reading of 1 Samuel 8–31', in *Biblical Studies/Cultural Studies: The Third Sheffield Colloquium,* eds. J. Cheryl Exum and Stephen D., Moore, JSOTSup 266 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 243-44.
[329] Jeppe Sinding Jensen, 'Revisiting the Insider-Outsider Debate: Dismantling a Pseudo-Problem in the Study of Religion', *MTSR* 23 (2011):47.
[330] Ulin, 'Beyond', 253-69.
[331] Schmid, *Gibt*, 51-52.

the Bible in light of their own agendas.[332] Such confiscation of course, raises questions in terms of whether any reading is justifiable,[333] but as Gadamer rediscovered, all interpreters belong to a socio-historical environment in which he explains in the following manner

> In Wahrheit gehört die Geschichte nicht uns, sondern wir gehören ihr. Lange bevor wir uns in der Rückbesinnung selber verstehen, verstehen wir uns auf selbstverständliche Weise in Familie, Gesellschaft und Staat, in denen wir leben. Der Fokus der Subjektivität ist ein Zerrspiegel. Die Selbstbesinnung des Individuums ist nur ein Flackern im geschlossenen Stromkreis des geschichtlichen Lebens. *Darum sind die Vorurteile des einzelnen weit mehr als seine Urteile die geschichtliche Wirklichkeit seines Seins*.[334]

The place of the reader, then, is part of the reception history end of the spectrum in the relationship between author, text and reader centred approaches. Gadamer's *Wirkungsgeschichtliche* attempts to rescue a neglected aspect of the understanding process in which the conjunction of art, tradition and speaking compose it, but each component reveals that understanding essentially does not equate to objectivation act since it occurs in collaboration (*Horizontverschmelzung*).[335] Spieckermann manages to notice the continuity between redaction criticism and reception history when he argues that essentially what separates them is the canonisation of certain texts, but other than that both are involved in the task of interpreting past traditions, yet he believes that this boundary can hardly be distinguished since 'both the biblical texts from Qumran and the pre-Masoretic *Vorlage* of the Septuagint bear witness to the intersection of redaction and reception.'[336] Similar conclusions are presented by Teeter, as he argues that 'redaction history, text history, exegetical rewriting, and the broader history of interpretation all prove to be not only contiguous but profoundly interconnected

[332] E.g., Christological interpretations of the OT/HB cf. Paul Joyce, 'The Old Testament Relationship to the New Testament', in *Beginning Old Testament Study,* ed. John Rogerson, 2nd ed. (London: SPCK, 1998), 132-49.
[333] See the issues involved in the debate on ethics of reading cf. J. Hillis Miller, 'The Ethics of Readings', *Deconst* 21 (1987):181-91.
[334] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1990), 281.
[335] Gadamer, *Wahrheit*, 305-11.
[336] Hermann Spieckermann, 'From Biblical Exegesis to Reception History', *HeBAI* 1 (2012):347-48.

(which is not say identical) processes.'[337] Spieckermann, however, by no means diminishes the importance of the traditional exegetical methods, but he rather observes the need of an exegesis which complements the explanation of the genesis of biblical texts with their post-canonical interpretations.[338]

2.5. Conclusion

After this extensive odyssey, one probably notices significant changes occurring within Jeremiah studies in which some even have ventured attributing them as paradigmatic transformation.[339] Whilst one cannot deny clear ongoing changes in the field, the fact that there are still ample scholarly productions along the lines of the quest for the *ipsissima verba Jeremiae* or attempts to correlate the language and the events narrated within Jeremiah with external incidents and specific historical periods suggests that such endeavours have not died.[340] For

[337] Andrew Teeter, 'The Hebrew Bible and/as Second Temple Literature: Methodological Reflections', *DSD* 20 (2013):375.
[338] Spieckermann, 'Biblical', 348-49.
[339] See Nissinen, 'Dilemma', 103-20.
[340] Stipp attempts to isolate the words of the historical Jeremiah based on the distinction between idiolects and sociolects and also place some sections of the book, such as Jeremiah 2–6 and 30–31, within the Josianic period cf. Hermann-Josef Stipp, 'Sprachliche Kennzeichen jeremianischer Autorschaft', in *Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah*, ed. Hans M. Barstad and Reinhard G. Kratz, BZAW 388 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 148-86; —, 'Die Verfasserschaft der Trostschrift Jer 30–31', *ZAW* 123 (2011):184-206; —, *Alttestamentliche Studien: Arbeiten zu Priesterschrift, Deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk und Prophetie,* BZAW 442 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 487-517. Although Hornkohl does not claim to associate the language of the book to the historical prophet, he does suggest that language of Jeremiah (including the Masoretic expansions) corresponds to a transitional period situated between classic and late Hebrew cf. Aaron D. Hornkohl, *Ancient Hebrew Periodization and the Language of the Book of Jeremiah: The Case for a Sixth-Century Date of Composition,* SSLL 74 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 46-52, 372. Not only did Leuchter suggest that the historical prophet supported the Josianic reform and was part of a scribal school responsible for the Deuteronomistic writings, but also that 'Deuteronomy reflects the attempt of northern Levites living in Judah to stabilize Israelite society in face of accumulated social disruptions and growing tensions between rural and royal spheres' adding that 'the Jeremiah tradition extends the Deuteronomistic project, presenting scribes as the Levitical bearers of Jeremiah's prophetic teachings' cf. Mark Leuchter, *Josiah's Reform and Jeremiah's Scroll: Historical Calamity and Prophetic Response,* HBM 6 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 13-17 —, *The Levites and the Boundaries of Israelite Identity* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 187, 217.

this reason, it would be more appropriate to think of an intensification of diverse methods rather than a paradigm shift. Some initial remarks, however, shall be drawn to situate my project within such a plural scenario. The relationship between authors, texts and readers are closer related than previously admitted. Past and current attempts to reconstruct the historical prophet, to a great extent, reflect the readers' projection which may or may not be driven by a particular confession.[341] Behind the tripartite division, author-, text and reader-centred approaches, lies a deeper question which is the relationship between subject and object since texts are not independent entities, as they depend on interpreters. Early scholars attempted to find meaning through the genesis of the book and during this journey they realised that a synthetic approach was necessary. Redaction criticism has provided a more complete account to the process of composition and is even strengthened when supported by textual critical evidence. Unlike proposals which suggest that the book developed without any planning, this study suggests that behind small localised expansions there are unifying motifs. Yet Jeremiah, in particular, offers an intriguing case, as its reception history started before the book reached its 'final' stages. Thus, an approach that can find support from textual criticism as evidence for the literary growth appears promising. I agree that the expansive nature of 𝔐- in relation to 𝔊-Jeremiah should not be generalised, as in some cases the translator could have abridged the text. But as far as Jeremiah 2–6 is concerned, although the Masoretic text might not be a direct decedent of the *Vorlage* of 𝔊-Jeremiah, its isomorphic translation technique evidences a later literary phase, which strongly suggests that the rigid distinction between lower and higher criticism cannot be sustained. Another direction is related to the socio-historical milieu of the translator as even though 𝔊-Jeremiah reflects a

[341] It is interesting to notice how conservative biblical scholarship, which in the past used to be more reluctant towards biblical criticism, has appropriated from its tool to defend its doctrines James Barr, *Fundamentalism* (London: SCM Press, 1977), 120-59.

relatively literal translation, such a translation is still located in a time a space and is possibly one of the earliest synchronic interpretations of the book. The tension between history and literature is also one which deserves some consideration. As a theological interpretation of the exile, Frei's 'history like' category seems more appropriate to Jeremiah as literature,[342] although this does not mean that the book has no historical basis. A historical reconstruction, however, should not be extracted from the book alone nor specific passages of the book should be attributed to the historical prophet, but ancient Israelite history and Jeremiah's literary history belong to different spheres of competence. Although it is possible to know some historical aspects about the prophets, the priority should be given to the literature.[343] Still, one distinction needs to be made here, which is the difference between religious and factual truth, as proposed by Lessing.[344] As an interpreter, however, I read the text from a specific background that cannot be completely eliminated and it is only within the conversation between the text's situation and context of the reader that interpretation takes place.

[342] Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven, NY and London: Yale University Press, 1974), 10-16.
[343] See Gene M. Tucker, 'The Futile Quest for the Historical Prophet', in *A Biblical Itinerary: In Search of Method, Form and Content: Essays in Honor of George W. Coats,* ed. Eugene E. Carpenter, JSOTSup 240 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 144-52; David J. Reimer, 'Jeremiah Before the Exile?' in *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar,* ed. John Day, JSOTSup 406 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 207-24; Lester L. Grabbe, '"The Lying Pen of the Scribes"? Jeremiah and History', in *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to Navav Na'aman*, ed. Yairah Amit et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 189-204.
[344] Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Ueber den Beweis des Geistes und der Kraft: an den Herrn Director Schumann, zu Hannover* (Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1777).

3. A Critical Appropriation of the Term 'Theodicy' to the Study of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible

Theodicy is widely regarded as playing a significant role within theology. The fact that no systematised theology can actually be found within the OT/HB by no means implies that such a collection is lacking in theological reasoning. Although it is perfectly justifiable to employ the term theodicy in the study of this body of literature, its application is not unproblematic; thereby, one should use this term judiciously and be mindful of potential issues. Since divinity and evil are central axes in the theodicean concept, one must first dissociate the milieux which produced such biblical texts from much later theistic formulations. Weber indeed precisely observed that

> das Problem der Theodizee ist verschieden gelöst worden und diese Lösungen stehen im intimsten Zusammenhang mit der Gestaltung der Gotteskonzeption und auch der Art der Prägung der Sünden- und Erlösungsideen. Wir greifen die möglichst rational "reinen" Typen heraus.[1]

In this respect, the notions of 'conceptual autonomy' alongside the distinction between 'emic' and 'etic' approaches are useful critical tools. The former goes back to Landsberger's inaugural lecture delivered in Leipzig in 1926, which aimed to evaluate how much of an ancient foreign culture could be understood using the aids of philology, distancing the observer from the influence of its contemporary traditions. Landsberger proposed that to understand the unfamiliar culture in question 'müssen wir die Eigenbegrifflichkeit einer Kultur aufsuchen'.[2] The latter, coined by Pike, similarly suggested that whilst an emic approach aims to analyse the object of study within its own native cultural terms, an etic outlook seeks to remove it from its

[1] Max Weber, *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, vol. 3, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1922), 297.
[2] Benno Landsberger, 'Die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der babylonischen Welt', *Islam* 2 (1926):355-57.

indigenous environment giving general explanations.[3] Additionally, Schmid's distinction between two types of theologies of the OT/HB can be used in conjunction with this differentiation. Whilst the first type operates along the lines of inner biblical exegesis attempting to track the progress of theological formulation from the texts themselves, the other works somewhere between biblical exegesis and systematic theology employing external concepts in the study of such texts.[4] An essential aspect in terms of this second type of theological project, however, is the definition of which framework is being adopted beforehand.[5] In this research Ricoeur will be the main interlocutor in the discussion on the problem of evil. Yet although this study acknowledges the differences between these enterprises and the importance of such a distinction for thorough methodological control, a strict dichotomy between them shall be avoided here on the grounds that this second type of OT/HB theology somewhat stands within the reader-centred approaches described in the previous chapter. Its features are largely based on synchronic readings and the use of intertextuality organised under a specific theological tradition, but as argued earlier, even the fathers of modern biblical criticism were not immune from imposing their contemporary views onto the biblical texts nor is reception history in total discontinuity with those perspectives which are inclined to favour the insider's view.

3.1. God and Gods

Historically the subject of evil has been problematic for theism in its diverse forms (not least the Abrahamic religions, for instance, Judaism, Christianism and perhaps Islam) since their main features (for

[3] Kenneth L. Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of Structure of Human Behavior,* vol. 1 (Glendale, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1954), 8.
[4] Schmid, *Gibt*, 54-55.
[5] Ibid., 55.

example, monotheism, an omnipotent creator, a personal and perfectly good God) logically clashes with the presence of evil in the world,[6] but as Gericke correctly observes, the use of imported concepts from classical theism alongside Aristotelian metaphysical notions, such as the idea of a perfect being and notions about the divine complexity, misrepresents what the OT/HB intends to say about its predominant deity.[7] Thus, since the milieu in which the biblical texts were produced stands at a significant distance from highly speculative notions of the divine, it is important to have the background of the ANE people in mind,[8] as they share noteworthy intellectual culture with ancient Israel, but even in this case, a certain caution in terms of imposing alien elements to its interpretation is needed. Whilst Hallo seems more optimistic arguing that findings from archaeological excavations in the ANE during the nineteenth century have been used to elucidate the understanding of biblical texts,[9] Chavalas observes the importance in acknowledging the distinctive nature of ANE literature when compared with the OT/HB, stressing that intertextual methods still need to evaluate the scope of the relationship between both literary corpuses.[10]

[6] Stephen T. Davies, 'Introduction' to *Encountering Evil: Live Options in Theodicy*, ed. Stephen T. Davies 2nd ed. (London and Leiden: WJK, 2001), viii-xi; Laato & De Moor, 'Introduction', vii-x. The term 'Abrahamic' is often used with reference to the three main monotheistic religions because their strong identification with Abraham and each of these traditions interpreted the figure of the patriarch according to their religion cf. Reuven Firestone, 'Abraham and Authenticity', in *The Oxford Handbook of Abrahamic Religions*, ed. Adam J. Silverstein; Guy J. Stroumsa and Moshe Blidstein (Oxford: OUP, 2015), 3-19. In Islam the issue of evil seems ambiguous because although the *Quran* gives strong emphasis on the transcendence alongside absolute control and sovereignty of *Allah*, it also contains immediate and eschatological forms of retributive theology (e.g., Sura 2.24; 3.135; 4.80; 29.1) cf. Kenneth Cragg, *The House of Islam* (Belmont, CA: Dickenson, 1969), 16-17.
[7] Jaco Gericke, *The Hebrew Bible and Philosophy of Religion*, SBL 70 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2012), 293-342.
[8] Stephen A. Geller, *Sacred Enigmas: Literary Religion in the Hebrew Bible* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 6.
[9] *COS* 1:xxiii, xxv.
[10] Mark W. Chavalas, 'The Comparative Use of Ancient Near Eastern Texts in the Study of the Hebrew Bible', *RC* 5 (2011):150.

(a) Monotheism versus Polytheism

Whatever the differences between the literary traditions of ancient Israel and its neighbours may be, one can still notice a clear diversity in the ANE religious world. Whilst significant portions of the OT/HB do suggest some form of exclusive worship devoted to its main deity, it is still important to make a distinction between the world of the text and the world in which the text was composed.[11] Such a religious plurality is apparently dissonant within Jeremiah 2–6, as these chapters expose an apologetic discourse against the people's apostasy. Curiously, nevertheless, this type of speech coincides with the period when an incipient form of 'monotheism' started to emerge.

Despite that, the use of the terminologies, such as 'monotheism' and 'polytheism', is problematic and anachronistic since they are modern constructs which were absent in the ANE. It is possible that such terminologies were designed to address the differences between Western and non-Western religions alongside cultural traditions and values which result in the misrepresentation of the ancient Israelite religion.[12] On this matter, MacDonald points out that the term monotheism only appeared for the first time in Moore's apologetic discussion under the influence of Platonism and this concept was

[11] Heiser tries to explain the phenomenon of divine plurality along the lines that although the biblical writers seem to acknowledge some form of divine plurality, they also appear to advocate Yahweh as a species unique among other deities cf. Michael S. Heiser, 'Monotheism, Polytheism, Monolatry, or Henotheism? Toward an Assessment of Divine Plurality in the Hebrew Bible', *BBR* 18 (2008):1-30. Sommer's explanation, however, seems more promising as he argues that although monolatry is not the same as monotheism in the OT/HB, he claims that the term monotheism has important value, highlighting the distinction between the religion of the ancient Israelites and the theology of the Hebrew scriptures cf. Benjamin Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 145-74.

[12] Mark S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), 11-12.

further developed when it was incorporated within the emergence of deism during the Enlightenment.[13]

Apart from the uncertain correct pronunciation of the deity referred to by the tetragrammaton יהוה, it is unquestionable that ancient Israel had strong bonds with this deity.[14] Nonetheless, the strong identification of ancient Israel with Yahweh does not mean that the ancient Israelite religion was monotheistic from an early stage, although the term monotheism has been used with some frequency in studies of the OT/HB, sometimes even giving the impression that ancient Israel's religion has always been monotheistic from the beginning without considering that the boundaries of its religious identity with its neighbours did not develop overnight.[15] Albright, for example, claims that Mosaic monotheism was influenced by Egyptian ideas (e.g., god as creator, monotheism inspired by the worship of Aten/Aton and the belief that this deity ruled the universe).[16]

Nonetheless, an initial close reading of some biblical passages (e.g., Gen 4:26; 31:19, 34, 53-54; Josh 24:2; Jer 11:13) already reveals that

[13] Nathan MacDonald, *Deuteronomy and the Meaning of "Monotheism"*, FAT 2 Reihe 1, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 5-21.

[14] According to Grabbe, יהוה is often pronounced as Yahweh based on Masoretic vocalisation of theophorous names in the biblical texts (e.g., **ירמיהו** cf. Jer 1:1) and late Greek and Latin sources (e.g.,'Ιαω cf. Diodorus Siculus 1.94.2; Varro, apud Lydus, De Mensibus 4.53) cf. Lester L. Grabbe, *Ancient Israel: What do We Know and How do We Know It?* 2nd ed. (London and New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017), 193. De Farias Francisco notes that its short form יה occurs only in poetic texts of the OT/HB (e.g., Exod. 15:2; Isa 38:11; Psa 68:19) written probably during the phase of development of archaic Hebrew in which a rare combination between יה and אלהים appears as a *hapax legomenon*; furthermore, this short form alongside its long spelling appears in an inscription from the eighth century BCE discovered in Hirbet Beit Lei, suggesting that both forms of the divine name were often used during the biblical period cf. Edson De Farias Francisco, *Tetragrama, Teônonimos e Nomina Sacra: Os Nomes de Deus na Bíblia* (Santo André, SP: Kapenke, 2018), 21-22. As claimed by Smith, shared meals of sacrificial animals (e.g., the Passover) fixed the social bonds between the people and their deity cf. William Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites: Second and Third Series: edited with an Introduction and Appendix by John Day*, JSOTSup 183 (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1995), 112.

[15] For an overview of the development of the ancient Israelite religion see Grabbe, *Ancient,* 193-205 and chapter 2 of Patrick D. Miller, *The Religion of Ancient Israel*, LAI (Louisville, KY: WJK/London and Leiden: SPCK, 2000).

[16] Albright, *Stone*, 206.

the ancient Israelite religion had a more complex and diverse scenario than is usually accepted amongst conservative scholarship. An important factor pointed by Dijkstra is the fact that from the exile onwards the biblical traditions were reshaped according to the practice of the worship of one god.[17] Although Pakkala accepts that some aspects of the pre-exilic religion could have triggered what he baptises as intolerant monolatry, with the use of source and redaction criticism he argues that it operated fully only from the exilic age since 'the history writer is hardly interested in the other gods, while the nomists are preoccupied with the issue. The late exilic editors were the first ones in the DH to prohibit the worship of other gods.'[18] Römer's opinion, however, is that radicalisation towards some form of monotheism happened only at the beginning of the Persian era, as it can be noticed in later strata of the Deuteronomistic history in which ideas of universalism alongside the belief that Yahweh is the creator in connection to the doctrine of election seem more evident (cf. Deuteronomy 4 and 10:14-22).[19] One important aspect to consider within the implementation of an exclusive worship is that a process of denigration of other religious practice occurs next to its execution resulting in the deconstruction of the former Canaanite practices.[20]

Thereby, an increasing consensus that monotheism is the fruit of a late phenomenon has become more visible more recently, although this

[17] Meindert Dijkstra, 'El, the God of Israel – Israel, the People of YHWH: On the Origins of Ancient Israelite Yahwism', in *Only One God? Monotheism in Ancient Israel and the Veneration of the Goddess Asherah*, ed. Bob Becking et al. (London and New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 81-89.
[18] Juha Pakkala, *Intolerant Monolatry in the Deuteronomistic History*, PFES 76 (Helsinki and Göttingen: The Finnish Exegetical Society and Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1999), 239.
[19] Thomas Römer, *So-Called*, 172-74.
[20] Robert Karl Gnuse, *No Other Gods: Emergent Monotheism in Israel,* JSOTSup 241 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 60. Levinson argues that the Deuteronomists generally stereotype such practices cf. Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (Oxford and New York: OUP, 1997), 148-49 and Barstad also questions the veracity of the cult prostitution in Amos cf. Hans M. Barstad, *The Religious Polemics of Amos: Studies in the Preaching of Am 2, 7B-8; 4,1-13; 5,1-27; 6,4-7; 8,14* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 21-23.

does not discard that a party supporting the practice of exclusive Yahwistic worship before the exilic age might have existed. Gnuse argues that this change of scholarly position regarding monotheism seems somehow related to the recognition that ancient Israel emerged from the highland local population during Iron age I in a somewhat peaceful process instead of foreign invaders conquering the land.[21] For Gnuse, Dijkstra and Becking, this allowed some space for continuity between the pre-exilic Israel and the Canaanites in which their religious culture was shared, although the apex of an emerging form of monotheism occurred only during the exilic age and became even more expressive by the end of the Second Temple period as a result of a combination of intellectual reflections.[22]

Some archaeological evidence (e.g., Lachish letters, ostraca from Tel Arad and amulets found in Jerusalem alongside jars discovered in Tel Miqne and a bowl from Khirbet el-Qôm) indeed seem to support biblical accounts in which the worship or rituals involving other deities (e.g., El, Asherah and Baal) occurred next to the cult of Yahweh, although Vriezen is aware that this evidence might not necessarily correspond to the same temporal and geographical space.[23]

Still, as stated by Smith, the presence of the language of divine council in Bronze Age texts from Mesopotamia and Syria (addressing the aggregation of deities orbiting around specific gods and its division in tiers, which suggests a certain hierarchy, might provide some insight into our investigation of the ancient Israelite religion.[24] Day also claims that the number of El epithets (e.g., אל שדי, אל עולם, אל בית־אל cf. Gen

[21] Gnuse, *Other*, 23-61.
[22] Gnuse, *Other*, 194-209, 346-47; Dijkstra, 'El', 89-92. Smith, however, avoids using the term Canaanite on the grounds that Ugaritic and Canaanite are not synonymous and besides that this term probably reflects a postexilic formulation cf. Smith, *Origins*, 14-18.
[23] Karel J. H. Vriezen, 'Archaeological Traces of Cult in Ancient Israel', in *Only One God? Monotheism in Ancient Israel and the Veneration of the Goddess Asherah*, ed. Bob Becking et al. (London and New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 45-80.
[24] Smith, *Origins*, 41-46.

17:1; 21:33; 35:7) in Genesis indicates a close relationship between the religion practiced by the patriarchs and the El Canaanite religion in which El seemed to have played the role of chief deity, but the presence of this god in ancient Israelite religion gradually faded once Yahweh was elevated to a higher position as attested in the process of supplementation of the biblical texts where El eventually turned into a divine title.[25] The influence of this deity, however, can still be traced in the OT/HB presenting Yahweh as an aged, wise and creator god alongside references to the sons of El (cf. Job 36:26; Ezek 28:2ff; Deut 32:6; Gen 6:2).[26]

According to Korpel, another aspect mentioned in Ugaritic texts is that El's consort was *`aṯrt* (cf. KTU 1.4:I22; 1.40:33-34; 2.31:46).[27] Day points out that the OT/HB introduces her as אשרה, although references about her are not uniform since there are occasions where the name Asherah refers to the goddess (e.g., 1 Kgs 15:13) whilst in other instances it concerns a wood-made cultic artefact (e.g., 2 Kgs 23:6), making it difficult to conclude whether Yahweh ever had a wife in ancient Israelite religion, [28] but as Binger and Emerton convincingly argue, the close association between the symbol and the deity strongly suggests Asherah as Yahweh's consort.[29] Smith even suggests that the religious background of the pre-exilic Israel had the divine couple, Yahweh and Asherah, 'at the top of the Judean pantheon'.[30] This corroborates with inscriptions covering the period between the 7th and the 3rd centuries BCE and suggests that Asherah was still familiar and

[25] John Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan*, JSOTSup 265, Repr. (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 13-17, 24-26; Dijkstra, 'El', 102-104; Smith, *Origins*, 135-36, 139-45.
[26] Day, *Yahweh*, 17-24; Smith, *Origins*, 136.
[27] Marjo C. A. Korpel, 'Asherah Outside Israel', in *Only One God? Monotheism in Ancient Israel and the Veneration of the Goddess Asherah*, ed. Bob Becking et al. (London and New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 129-30.
[28] Day, *Yahweh*, 42-59.
[29] Tilde Binger, *Asherah: Goddesses in Ugaritic, Israel and the Old Testament*, JSOTSup 232, CIS 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997),141; J. A. Emerton, '"Yahweh and His Asherah": The Goddess or Her Symbol?' *VT* 48 (1999):334-35.
[30] Smith, *Origins*, 41-47.

worshiped in Judah, Israel and their surroundings since before the exilic period. The sum of this evidence strongly indicates that this goddess was intimately related to the worship of Yahweh.[31]

Nonetheless, one might wonder why and how ancient Israel shifted from its polytheistic practices towards an emerging form of monotheism. One possible contributing cause may be related to the witnessing of evil and suffering resulting from the experience of the exile. On this matter, the religious change in Ugarit can provide some insight. De Moor suggests that the remarkable turmoil in the last years of Ugarit, which besides being surrounded by enemies from all sides, also included suffering from famine and plague, led its people to abandon the worship of *Ilu*/El replacing it with *Ba`lu*/Baal (cf. KTU 2.61:27-13; 2.10).[32] Such a shift resulted in apprehension witnessed by some Ugaritic writings, which reflect on the issue of divine justice (e.g., The Legend of Kirtu, The Myth of *Ba`lu*, The Legend of Aqhatu).[33] Ilimalku, the author, gives the impression in these writings that the gods are responsible for undeserved pain experienced by mankind even though they cannot prevent it, yet he still seems reluctant to fully endorse Baal.[34] Ilimalku's solution to the problem was the shift between good and bad as part of the natural order in which those responsible for life and death are equitably powerful resulting in an alternation of power, yet they still require the assistance of human beings (e.g., KTU 1.3:IV 53-V.4).[35] The writer tries to justify the deities' weakness as something necessary to the development of nature.

[31] Meindert Dijkstra, 'I have blessed you by YHWH of Samaria and his Asherah: Texts with Religious Elements from the Soil Archive of Ancient Israel', in *Only One God? Monotheism in Ancient Israel and the Veneration of the Goddess Asherah*, ed. Bob Becking et al. (London and New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 44; Garth Gilmour, 'An Iron Age II Pictorial Inscription from Jerusalem Illustrating Yahweh and Asherah', *PEQ* 141 (2009):100.
[32] J. C. De Moor, 'Theodicy in the Texts of Ugarit', in *Theodicy in the World of the Bible*, ed. Antti Laato and Johannes C. De Moor (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), 110-14.
[33] De Moor, 'Ugaritic', 114-39.
[34] Ibid., 116-17.
[35] Ibid., 118.

For instance, the death of *Ba`lu* is interpreted as a self-sacrifice to protect crops from being burned since the hot desert is the territory of Motu, the entity that controls death.[36]

In the OT/HB, however, בעל is frequently associated with geographical places, appearing as singular (e.g., 2 Kgs 11:18) and plural (e.g., Jdg 2:11). Day observes that the latter refers to local manifestations of a god named Hadad (cf. KTU 1.10.II.4-5), although occasionally it might reflect a general reference to the Canaanite religion (e.g., Jer 2:23).[37] Nevertheless, Ugaritic sources often mention *ṣpn* as Baal's divine mountain (e.g., KTU[2] 1.5.I.11), which possibly influenced the term זפן in the OT/HB. But despite its association with the North, the geographical location was not fixed, as it is possible to find references pointing to Egypt (cf. Exod 14:1).[38] At first glance one may have the impression that the OT/HB has a more open response to El than Baal, but Anderson's categories of appropriation suggest that the relationship between Baal and the OT/HB was not always straightforward.[39] Even though it would not be an exaggeration to say that Baalism was the main obstacle to the implementation of exclusive practice of Yahwism, it seems that there were some attempts to merge Yahweh with Baal (e.g., Hos 2:18).[40] The peak of the clash between the two cults, however, is presented with colourful detail in the accounts involving Jezebel (cf. 1 Kgs 16:29ff.).[41] Smith and Lang attempt to reconstruct the development of a Yahweh-alone group, arguing that, like its neighbours, this group had Yahweh as their

[36] Ibid., 149.
[37] Day, *Yahweh*, 68-70.
[38] Ibid., 107-09.
[39] Anderson divides his categories of appropriation into polemic and non-polemic criteria in which the former can be explicitly or inexplicitly manifested whilst the latter intends to give the impression that monotheism existed from the beginning cf. James S. Anderson, *Monotheism and Yahweh's Appropriation of Baal*, LHBOT 617 (London and New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 39-46.
[40] Day, *Yahweh*, 72-73.
[41] Ibid., 70-77, 228-29.

national deity, which later was diffused from Davidic times onwards.[42] More pronounced changes to monotheism, however, only took place during the period of the conflict between Jezebel and the Yahwistic prophets, resulting in the propagation of the movement led by the classical prophets' preaching alongside the Deuteronomistic reform.[43] Yet even if Josiah's reform had happened,[44] less informal religious expressions addressing particular daily affairs still continued simultaneously with the official national religion.[45] Thereby, the stability of the Yahweh-alone religious group only became effective during the (post)exilic period in reaction against foreign religions,[46] but even after the centralisation of the worship in Jerusalem alongside the establishment of some form of exclusive worship to one god, there were still other temples or sanctuaries in operation (e.g., Gerizim and Leontopolis).[47] Besides that, Day and observes that the practice of worship of other deities continued amongst Israel's neighbours and occasionally some residue still could be found amidst monotheist Jews since Judaism as the religion of the book emerged only by the end of the Second Temple period.[48]

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[42] Morton Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 15-56. Lang adopts this model with some modification cf. Bernhard Lang, *Monotheism and the Prophetic Minority: An Essay in Biblical History and Sociology*, SWBA 1 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1983), 13-59.
[43] Smith, *Palestinian*, 15-56; Lang, *Monotheism*, 13-59.
[44] Recently scholars have discussed the historicity of Josiah's reform. Compare Rainer Albertz, 'Why a Reform Like Josiah's Must Have Happened', in *Good Kings and Bad Kings: The Kingdom of Judah in the Seventh Century BCE*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, T&T Clark BS (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 27-46 with Philip R. Davies 'Josiah and the Law Book', in *Good Kings and Bad Kings: The Kingdom of Judah in the Seventh Century BCE*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, T&T Clark BS (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 65-77.
[45] Lester L. Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Sages: A Socio-Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 119-51.
[46] Smith, *Palestinian*, 15-56; Lang, *Monotheism*, 13-59.
[47] Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavne* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 317-18.
[48] Day, *Yahweh*, 231-32; William G. Denver, *Did God Have a Wife? Archaeology and Folk Religion in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2005), 300-303.

Forbidding worship of other gods, therefore, does not necessarily equate to monotheism. In this sense, MacDonald argues, the fact that Deuteronomy clearly advocates that Yahweh is one, unique with no equals to Israel, does not support any theistic speculative notion of monotheism since the Shema (cf. Deut 4:35, 39) refers to a full and intense loving commitment where different images (e.g., marital, parental and political) have been employed to illustrate the relationship between Yahweh and his people.[49] Despite the limitations of each metaphor, it still has an important didactic role; particularly those involving images of marriage and political alliances seem illuminating to our understanding of the exclusive Yahwistic covenantal worship, as they can be combined to reprove apostasy.[50] Love, thus, should not be reduced to abstract emotions since it is manifested through concrete actions in the OT/HB (e.g., worship, sanctification, obedience, sacrifice and education).[51]

Other types of worship, such as תרפים, מלך, רפאים, etc. (cf. 1 Sam 15:22-23; 2 Kgs 23:10; Job 26:5), are also mentioned in the OT/HB, but as my intention was only to introduce a sample of the ANE diverse religious backgrounds, which apparently declined as a result of the Josianic reform in 621 BCE (cf. 2 Kings 23),[52] the examples above are enough to illustrate such a religious plurality. Such a complex scenario cannot be simply reduced to a binary opposition, such as monotheism versus polytheism since its development went through a long-complicated process involving assimilation, exclusion and transformation.

[49] MacDonald, *Deuteronomy*, 97-123, 209-21.
[50] See Thompson's analysis of the political background of the term אהב cf. J. A. Thompson, 'Israel's "Lovers"', *VT* 27 (1977):475-81 and Baumann's assessment of the use of the metaphor of marriage in prophetic literature cf. Gerlinde Baumann, *Liebe und Gewalt. Die Ehe als Metapher für das Verhältnis JHWH – Israels in den Prophetenbüchern*, SBS 185 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk GmbH, 2000), 40.
[51] MacDonald, *Deuteronomy*, 122-23.
[52] Day, *Yahweh*, 229-30.

(b) Aniconic versus Iconic Practices

The absence of images might be common in some circles of Protestant Christianity as a reaction against Roman Catholicism. This response may or may not have contributed to the construction of a highly transcendental god. Still, in the same manner that the dichotomy between polytheism and monotheism reflects modern constructions unfamiliar to the biblical writers, Becking and MacDonald argue that a similar observation is applicable to the iconic versus aniconic debate since such distinctions belong to the post-enlightenment era where, despite their didactic utility, they were probably unknown to the ancient world.[53]

A similar phenomenon can also be detected in the discrepancies between the tone of Jeremiah 2–6 against the idols and the ANE evidence. Once again it is necessary to differentiate the world behind the text from the literary world. Even though the text presents a harsh discourse against idolatry, on number of occasions the OT/HB betrays such criticism revealing vestiges of anthropomorphic language to describe its deity. Still, one might question whether OT/HB texts support prohibition in terms of making any representations since the decalogue (Exod 20:4) gives an initial impression that early Yahwism was always aniconic. For Köckert, however, not allowing images refers specifically to those associated with worship, particularly images of Yahweh, although this vetoing seems to have occurred at a later stage (firstly in Deut 5 and subsequently in Exod 20).[54] A glimpse through

[53] Bob Becking, 'The Return of the Deity: Iconic or Aniconic?' in *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman*, ed. Yairah Amit et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 57; Nathan MacDonald, 'Aniconism in Old Testament', in *The God of Israel*, ed. R. P. Gordon, UCOP 64 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 33-44.

[54] Matthias Köckert, 'Suffering from Formlessness: The Ban on Images in Exilic Times', in *Exile and Suffering: A Selection of Papers Read at the 50th Anniversary Meeting of the Old Testament Society of South Africa OTWSA/OTSSA*, Pretoria August 2007, ed. Bob Becking and Dirk Human, OS 50 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2009), 36-38, 40.

the ANE religious context reveals elements of continuity and discontinuity between ancient Israelites and Canaanite religious backgrounds, which raises the question as to whether this has always been the case.

As Smith argues, ANE divinities were often represented using both anthropomorphic and theriomorphic images in which the latter were restricted to domestic animals (e.g., bull) in contrast to undomesticated monstrous figures (e.g., snake), which portray cosmic enemies.[55] To give a few examples, El, Baal and Anat were respectively depicted as a bull, a bull-calf and a bird whilst the cosmic enemies were often characterised as a snake dragon (cf. CTA I. I. III 26; I.5 V 17-21; I 108.8; I.3 III 40-42).[56] Since the world of the Bible was inserted within this context it is not surprising to find interactions with some of these images (e.g., Exodus 32; Num 24:8; 1 Kgs 12:28; Psa 74:13-14; Job 26:13; Rev 12:13), yet such interactions seem far from homogeneous, as the monster Tannin is presented as the enemy of Yahweh, but on other occasions is summoned to worship him (cf. Psa 74:12-17; 148:7).[57]

In this sense, Sommer's notion of 'divine fluidity' seems relevant here. Although he acknowledges some resistance in Deuteronomistic and Priestly texts because they tend to emphasise a higher view of divinity (e.g., divine sanctuary and glory) and play a significant editorial role in the current form of the OT/HB, Sommer argues that the OT/HB, like many ancient Mesopotamian religions, still portrays various forms of physical representation of its main deity (e.g., Yahweh of Teman, Yahweh of Samaria, angel of God, a stone pillar erected in Bethel cf. Gen 28:18-19).[58]

[55] Smith, *Origins*, 32; Esther J. Hamori, *'When Gods Were Men': The Embodied God in Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Literature*, BZAW 384 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 129-49.
[56] Smith, *Origins*, 32-33.
[57] Ibid., 32-40.
[58] Sommer, *Bodies*, 12-37, 38-79.

Gnuse proposes that the absence of images in early Yahwism might be related to the lack of resources in desert conditions, as it seems that the first occurrences of worship to Yahweh appeared outside the Palestinian territory (Seir from the wilderness of Paran later identified as Edom territory and Midian cf. Exodus 18; Deut 33:2; Jdg 5:2) before amalgamating with Canaanite traditions.[59] As part of the assimilating process of Yahwism into the Palestinian territory, it would not be unexpected to find representations corresponding to Yahweh. The merging of Yahweh with El may illustrate this case well. Since Jeroboam mentions that Israel's gods freed the Israelites from Egypt (cf. 1 Kgs 12:28 a possible reference to Exod 32:4), Day argues that Jeroboam's calves were images of Yahweh, which were also a possible allusion to אביר יעקב (cf. Gen 49:24), although the bull image alongside the idea that Yahweh had a consort was eventually rejected later.[60]

Yet the use of images to represent divinity were not restricted to animals, but they possibly involved anthropomorphic representations as well, even if such portrayals were not materially represented, one may notice that literary human characterisations of divinity in the OT/HB are abundant.[61] Although the OT/HB presents a variety of anthropomorphic representations (e.g., concrete, envisioned, immanent, transcendent, figurative), Hamori believes that it is unlikely that biblical writers chose their images based on these rigid categories since they often overlap besides the fact that the biblical texts tend to present a combination of various images.[62] Fretheim also gives the anthropomorphic metaphor an important place for the proper understanding of the OT/HB, but he tends to push this metaphor much further than the text seems to allow (e.g., the extension of the metaphor

[59] Gnuse, *Other*, 194-96.
[60] Day, *Yahweh*, 34-41.
[61] Jill Middlemas, *The Divine Image: Prophetic Aniconic Rhetoric and Its Contribution to the Aniconism Debate*, FAT 2 Reihe 74 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 15-18.
[62] Hamori, *Gods*, 26-34.

to the prophets).[63] In Hamori's view, the presence of אנשים/איש in two instances (Gen 18:1-15; 32:23-33) reflects human theophanies with references to both יהוה and אלהים.[64] For her, anthropomorphic embodiment of the divine in the OT/HB needs to be comprehended literally like other types of theophanies, but its significance should be seen analogically or within its context since the divine manifestation in realistic human form to Abraham and Jacob seems different from other appearances suggesting that the divine function was an important factor for the use of anthropomorphic theophanies.[65]

Another critical aspect that demands careful consideration is that even Yahwism was not uniform. As Becking argues, Jeroboam's rival cult suggests there were possibly different active forms of Yahwism occurring and the exclusive Yahwistic worship became prevalent before the Babylonian domination.[66] Based on his examination of Sargon II Prism IV:32, Becking suggests that divine anthropomorphic images were taken as spoils from the official temple or palace during the Assyrian incursions in Samaria, but this does not exclude that cultic images were also present at family households alongside the worship of other Mesopotamian deities introduced by the colonisers.[67]

By contrast, Middlemas' observation of prophetic literature argues that these writings seem to employ strategic aniconic rhetoric (e.g., reducing the divine to an object; emphasis on human fabrication to deny divinity; accentuating the material aspect of the idols; locating both the idols and their idolaters under judgment) in their clash against idols in the programmatic implementation of Yahwistic exclusive

[63] Terence E. Fretheim, *The Suffering of God: An Old Testament Perspective*, OBT (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1984), 11, 165.
[64] Hamori, *Gods*, 4-5.
[65] Ibid., 64, 128.
[66] Bob Becking, 'The Gods in Whom They Trusted… Assyrian Evidence for Iconic Polytheism in Ancient Israel?' in *Only One God? Monotheism in Ancient Israel and the Veneration of the Goddess Asherah*, ed. Bob Becking et al. (London and New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 153.
[67] Becking, 'Gods', 161-62.

worship.[68] Within such anti-iconic rhetoric one can find the use of languages, which a modern reader would not find politically correct. On this matter, Olyan points out that the use of disability has been incorporated in anti-iconic texts to stigmatise and marginalise the idols.[69] For Middlemas, prophetic writings reveal a certain reluctance concerning representations of the divine also extending to Yahweh, as most symbols used within worship seemed formless and their purpose was only intended for worship guidance instead of representing the deity itself.[70] She argues that by converting multiple image representations of Yahweh into metaphors, which include both human and animal, the writers successfully manage to transmit the incomparable character of the divine.[71]

Nonetheless, even after the exile the religion of ancient Israel might not have been necessarily absent of icons. In this regard, Becking believes that 'the theme "return of the deity" was not just a literary *topos* in ancient Mesopotamia but also a reality' since 'divine images were returned to the sanctuaries from which they were deported' (e.g., Marduk, statues from Syria were possibly taken to Egypt) adding that 'the carrying away of images into the exile were represented iconographically', although 'no representation of the return of images is known'.[72] Following Becking's argument, whilst Judah was not completely emptied of its population during the exile, it was certainly vacant of its deity, who later returned with כלי בית יהוה (cf. Ezra 1:7).[73]

If the use of icons implies that the ANE gods had bodies, one could assume that that their social relations and even emotions were also described in human terms. Like most ANE religions, the Hittites portrayed their deities behaving like mankind. Within this tradition

[68] Middlemas, *Divine*, 53-54.
[69] Saul M. Olyan, 'The Ascription of Physical Disability as Stigmatising Strategy in Biblical Iconic Polemics', *JHS* 9 (2009):1-15.
[70] Middlemas, *Divine*, 89-90.
[71] Ibid., 123-24.
[72] Becking, 'Return', 55-56.
[73] Ibid., 58.

gods played the role of suzerain whilst human beings acted as their vassal (e.g., KUB 13.2 iii 21-32).[74] Since the Hittites often represented their gods as similar to human behaviour, unconfessed known sins that were unpunished were explained in the light of human patience or that the deities were lazy or simply that they were unjust (e.g., KUB 13.4.4 i 21-38).[75] Although the location of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic writings cannot be placed within the second-millennium as some scholars driven by apologetic concerns have attempted to argue,[76] the suzerain-vassal model visibly influenced some OT/HB scholars, such as Von Rad, Mendenhall and Eichrodt,[77] but particularly Eichrodt went too far in considering that ברית was the central theme of the Hebrew scriptures to the point of even forcing the theme of covenant in wisdom literature[78] Such a high view of unity, however, did not remain unchallenged, as it faced resistance from different fronts. Von Rad strongly objected to the idea that the OT/HB had a centre whilst McCarthy argued that the way in which this literary body uses the concept of covenant is not uniform.[79]

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[74] H. A. Hoffner, 'Theodicy in Hittite Texts', in *Theodicy in the World of the Bible*, ed. Antti Laato and Johannes C. De Moor (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), 90-94 106-07.
[75] Ibid., 102-06.
[76] Harner, Kitchen, Niehaus and McConville defend the second millennium for such texts. See Philip B. Harner, 'Sinai, and the Hittite Prologues', *JBL* 85 (1966):233-36; Kenneth A. Kitchen, 'Ancient Orient, "Deuteronomism," and the Old Testament', in *New Perspectives on the Old Testament*, ed. J. Barton Payne, ETSSS 3 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1970), 1-24; Jeffrey J. Niehaus, 'Joshua and Ancient Near Eastern Warfare', *JETS* 31 (1988):37-50; J. G. McConville, *Deuteronomy*, AOC 5 (Leicester: Apollos and Downers Grove and InterVarsity Press, 2002). As stated by Römer, however, 'there is no social location during the second part of the second millennium BCE for editing such a document in Judah or Israel (which do not even exist at the time)' cf. Römer, *So-Called*, 75. Patrick suggests that the covenant code was created sometime before 721 BCE cf. Dale Patrick, 'The Covenant Source', *VT* 27(1977):145-57.
[77] Von Rad, 'Hexateuch', 37-68; George E. Mendenhall, 'Ancient Oriental and Biblical Law', *BA* 17 (1954):26-46.
[78] Walther Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments: Gott und Volk*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'schen Buchhandlung, 1935), 36-69; —, 'Vorsehungsglaube und Theodizee im Alten Testament', in *Festschrift Otto Procksch zum 60. Geburtstag am 9 August 1934*, ed. Otto Procksch, A. Alt et al. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1934), 45-70.
[79] Gerhard Von Rad, 'Grundprobleme einer biblischen Theologie des Alten Testaments', *THLZ* 9 (1943):225-34; Dennis J. McCarthy, *Der Gottesbund im Alten*

Briefly, one may argue that the juxtaposition between aniconic and iconic practices, like the contrast between monotheism and polytheism, does not address the problem adequately, as both cases reflect the clash between the reality of the texts and the milieu in which it was written. Similar to the development of monotheism, the evolution towards an aniconic religious expression was marked by a deep historical process attested by the editorial activity. Yet within such a process, the way in which ancient Israel depicted its deity strongly suggests that not only did that deity have a body, but also occupied similar positions, such as a warrior-king,[80] and expressed emotions in the relationship with its people.

3.2. Evil

Next to the idea of god, the notion of evil is one of the cardinal points within the concept of theodicy and, like theodicy, evil itself is a contentious term, but since I already dedicated detailed attention to the issues involved in the etic concept of evil elsewhere,[81] this section will only introduce some problems involved in the concept of evil before moving on to Ricoeur's contribution.

Traditionally the theme of evil has been debated throughout history within the disciplines of theology and philosophy, but more recently the discussion has transcended beyond these fields, involving linguistics, social and psychological studies and even neurosciences. Proposals have ranged from metaphysical to linguistic issues, raising questions as to whether evil can be defined as a force, an imperfection, a defect, or simply just a word. Be that as it may, words are never

Testament: Ein Bericht uber die Forschung der Letzten Jahre, SBS 13 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk GmbH, 1967), 18-23.

[80] See Martin Buber, *Königtum Gottes*, 3rd ed. (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1956); 39-50; Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Scottdalle, PA and Kitchener, ON: Herald Press, 1980), 23-33.

[81] Anderson Yan, 'Desafios com o Conceito de "Mal"', *VS* 26 (2018):309-28.

neutral, as they create *Weltanschauungen*. The use of the term 'axis of evil' after September 11, 2001 is possibly one of the most recent memories of the rhetorical and ideological use of such a language.[82]

Religion, particularly Christianity with its classical doctrines (e.g., the goodness of creation, the origin of sin and Jesus passion cf. Gen 1:1–2:3; Rom 5:12 and Gal 3:10-14), has played a significant part shaping Western morality and on the way in which one reflects on the theme of evil in the present-day. The Augustinian notion of evil as the absence of goodness alongside the Free Will defence are perhaps the most widespread in the West. The Augustinian theology argues that evil entered the world, originally created good, through Free Will resulting in the Fall and redemption is directly connected to the idea of *O Felix Culpa*.[83] Yet Augustine's view on evil was hugely impacted by his reaction against Manichaeism alongside the influence of Platonism since both currents were pivotal to the Augustinian metaphysics where evil is perceived as an absence of goodness, non-being or non-existence.[84] Particularly, the idea of evil as a deficit seems still alive amongst contemporary thinkers. Midgley, for example, still supports

[82] See Stephen Chan, *Out of Evil: New International Politics: An Old Doctrine of War* (I. B. Tauris: New York and London, 2005), 3-34. Kierkegaard already referred to the cosmological function of the language in his interpretation of the Fall suggesting that language constructs the moral fate of mankind, where he rejected the Augustinian distinction between original sin and the human race sinful nature attributing *angest* as the from the human response to *frihed* cf. Søren Kierkegaard, *Begrebet Angest: En simpel psychologik-paapegende Overveielse I Retning af dogmatiske Problem om Arvesynden af Vigilius Haufniensis* (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel, 1855), 41-47.

[83] *Civ*. 12.1-5. This idea is explicitly mentioned in the Roman Missal – *Exsultet* – for Easter evening; however, despite the frequent association of this missal to Augustine and other Church Fathers, its date and authorship is unknown. Even so, the notion of *O Felix Culpa* can still be found in *Enchir*. 8:27.

[84] In Manichaeism good and evil principles coexisted independently from the beginning before the time when darkness started invading the domains of light resulting in a conflict, which was going to last up to the final battle in which darkness would be permanently confined cf. Michel Tardieu, *Le Manichéisme, Que Sais-Je?* 2nd ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaire de France, 1997), 94-100. For Platonism, God's perfection was directly related to the notion of immutability cf. *Resp*. 2:381; 6:506-508. The analogy of the sun and Plotinus' doctrine of emanation illustrates this point cf. *Enn*. 2. For Augustine's Platonic influence see Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of An Idea* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1936), 80-98.

the idea of evil as a deficit, although she does not share Augustine's same axioms, which is evident when she argues that God has nothing to do with the human issue of evil.[85] More surprisingly, evil as a deficit is also backed by modern science, although the use of the term evil is avoided. Since the term evil cannot be scientifically measured, Ben-Cohen employs other terms, such as 'empathy corrosion' or 'deficiency' to explain the propensity to cruel, violent or aggressive behaviour in certain individuals due to the abnormality in their amygdala, which corresponds to an area in the brain responsible for the emotions and memory.[86] Reisel, likewise, uses the term 'empathy corrosion' to demonstrate that individuals, who experienced neglected or abused youth, shows a restrained development of their amygdala.[87]

A different type of theodicy, however, can be traced back to Irenaeus, another Church Father even earlier than Augustine.[88] Despite its diffusion in the East first under Clement of Alexandria,[89] it was imported to the West by Schleiermacher, who besides Spinoza had a tremendous influence on modern hermeneutics.[90] This Irenaean theodicy was revived and made popular by Hick,[91] but the lack of

[85] Mary Midgley, *Wickedness: A Philosophical Essay,* 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 15-16.
[86] Baron Ben-Cohen, *Zero Degree of Empathy: A New Theory of Human Cruelty and Kindness* (London: Allen Lane, 2011).
[87] Daniel Reisel, 'Towards a Neuroscience of Morality', in *The Psychology of Restorative Justice: Managing the Power Within,* ed. Theo Gavrielides (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 49-64.
[88] Irenaeus interpreted the *Imago Dei* in Gen 1:27 making a distinction between εικων and ομοιωσις cf. *Haer.* 5:6.1.
[89] Clement argued that Adam was innocent like a child instead of a perfect being cf. *Strom.* 3:69.1-4.
[90] Schleiermacher proposed an enlightening process where human perfection was not present from the beginning but could be achieved through the awakening of the 'religiöse Bewußtsein' during one's personal journey cf. Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im zusammenhange dargestellt* (Berlin: Druck and Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1830), 313. His objection towards the distinction between biblical and classical literature in a negotiation between the reader and the text had a significant impact on contemporary biblical interpretation cf. Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik und Kritik mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Neu Testament*, vol. 2 (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1838), 41-200.
[91] For Hick, the human nature differs from animal beings based on the moral freedom and responsibility attributed to the godly εικων within humankind. Mankind,

refinement regarding different types of evil in Hick's theodicy was heavily criticised by Kane and the association between freedom and morality did not convince Mesle.[92]

For these reasons, despite the preference of restricting the term evil to the moral sphere where moral agents can be held responsible for their actions,[93] the use of the term evil is much broader within the religious context. Thereby, it is common to find a distinction between 'moral' and 'natural' forms of evil amongst theodicists. Whereas the former (frequently referred to as sin) deals with malpractices, misconducts or distress caused by moral individuals, the latter (occasionally mentioned as physical evil) refers to suffering and affliction resulting from natural events.[94]

Yet once the dominant Christian narrative lost its central place, new alternatives (including ideas about of evil) started to emerge in an eroding process, probably initiated during the Renaissance, passing through the Reformation and carried on with the Scientific Revolution in which not only biblical interpretation was no longer monopolised by the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, but new areas of knowledge and values also started to come to the surface.[95] In the midst of these winds of change, Spinoza's works stand out in his contribution to the Enlightenment alongside the rise of historical criticism and ethics.[96] Particularly, the latter seems relevant to our discussion since it lays the foundations of the role of subjectivity rejecting the idea of an objective

however, is only potentially the ομοιωσις intended by God, as this could only be achieved at the end through the development of the relationship between his Maker due to their 'epistemic distance' cf. John Hick, *Evil and the God of Love* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 217-18, 280-91.

[92] G. Stanley Kane, 'The Failure of the Soul-Making Theodicy', *IJPR* 6 (1975):1-22; C. Robert Mesle, 'The Problem of Genuine Evil: A Critique of John's Hick's Theodicy', *JR* 66 (1986):412-30.

[93] Marcus G. Singer, 'The Concept of Evil', *Phil* 79 (2004):185-214.

[94] Davis, 'Introduction', xi.

[95] John Henry, *The Scientific Revolution and the Origins of Modern Science. Studies in European History,* 3rd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 9-13.

[96] Travis L. Frampton, *Spinoza and the Rise of Historical Criticism of the Bible* (New York and London: T&T Clark, 2006), 23-42, 199-234.

truth regarding the reality of good and evil reducing both concepts to the perception of the individual (*qui mentem Auctoris illius operis*), although Spinoza accepted that these notions are still useful constructs (*intelligere*).[97]

In fact, Hick's correlation of morality and freedom was exactly what Surin identified as the main problem raised amongst moral atheists since they resist pointless suffering.[98] Nietzsche, for instance, argued that morality functions as a controlling instrument imposed by the stronger upon the weaker.[99] His mentor, Schopenhauer, under the influence of non-Western perspectives, such as Hinduism and Buddhism, claimed that the world is anything but perfect and the misery within it is enough evidence to deny the existence of a superior being.[100] Yet Nietzsche's objection was not with suffering itself, but with meaningless pain, which was why he considers that culture plays an important role in providing meaning to the interpretation of suffering.[101]

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[97] Baruch Spinoza, *Ethica*, 4. Preface, 4:26-27.
[98] Kenneth Surin, 'Theodicy?' *HTR* 76 (1983):225-40.
[99] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft. ("la gaya scienza"),* 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Verlag von E. W. Frietzsch, 1887), 4:338.
[100] Arthur Schopenhauer, *Parerga und Paralipomena: kleine philosophische Schriften,* vol. 2 (Berlin: A. W. Hayn, 1851), 254-59, 316, 471-82. Whilst Hinduism denies the reality of evil, considering it as an illusion i.e., *māyā* (cf. Purushottama Bilimoria, 'Karm's Suffering: A Mīmāṃsā Solution to the Problem of Evil', in *Indian Ethics*, eds. Purushottama Bilimoria, Joseph Prabhu and Renuka Sharma. Vol. 1 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 173), Buddhism understands evil as part of a spiritual journey in which pain i.e., *dukkha* firstly needs to be understood and its origin i.e., *samudaya* must be abandoned before proceeding to the stage of the suspension of *dukkha*, which is *nirodha*, and finally achieving the way of cessation i.e., *magga* (cf. Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History and Practice*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 52-87.
[101] Whilst Nietzsche clearly rejected the place of religion, and consequently, morality since the Western moral values derived from Christian ethics, he also recognised that pain was a constitutive part of an individuals' life in which culture in its diverse expressions (e.g., mythic stories, religion, art, etc.) attempt to convey meaning to suffering, making pain more tolerable cf. Nietzsche, *fröhliche*, 5:370. Weber also suggested something along similar lines, as he thought that rituals assist people to face daily incertitude in life cf. Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie: Das antike Judentum* (Tübingen: Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1921), 1-7. Since religion is part of what constitutes culture, the Bible naturally belong to the same category. Coincidentally or not, Armstrong argues that both arts and religion interact with the right hemisphere of the brain, claiming that

As one would expect, the horrors of the Shoah were as also part of this discussion. Two studies attempting to explain the theme of evil appeared virtually around the same time and interestingly contradict the idea of cruelty as something exclusively from stereotypical sociopaths. In 1964 Milgram conducted a social-psychological experiment, which assessed the willingness of participants to obey orders from an authoritative voice who gave them instructions against their conscience.[102] A year later Arendt came up with the term 'banality of evil', which she used to describe how mentally sane and reasonable intelligent people without any traces of a sociopathy or fanaticism were involved in terrible cruel acts.[103] Four decades later Zimbardo presented something along similar lines but more inclined towards social politics, proposing a 'psychology of evil', where he argued that people are not evil, but certain environments contribute to their transformation into perpetrators.[104]

A crucial remark raised by Ricoeur in face of such multiple explanations concerning evil is that the challenge faced by most philosophical and theological systems is based on 'un mode de penser soumis à l'exigence de cohérence logique, c'est-à-dire à la fois de non-contradiction et de totalité systématique' without considering that such

> propositions expriment un état "onto-théologique" de la pensée qui n'a été atteint qu'à un stade avancé de la spéculation et sous la condition d'une fusion entre langage confessionnel de la religion et un discours sur l'origine radicale de toutes choses, à l'époque de la métaphysique

the emphasis on objectivity in the contemporary world has lost the ability of grasping the creativity from Sacred texts where a different level of truth is communicated through the means of legends and myths with the purpose of individuals' transformation cf. Karen Armstrong, *The Lost Art of Scripture* (London: The Bodley Head, 2019), 1-8.

[102] S. Milgram, 'Behavioural Study of Obedience', *JASP* 67 (1963):371-78.

[103] Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, 2nd ed. (New York: Viking Press, 1964), 21-35.

[104] P. G. Zimbardo, 'A Situationist Perspective on the Psychology of Evil: Understanding How Good People are Transformed into Perpetrators', in *The Social Psychology of Good and Evil,* ed. A. G. Miller (New York: Guilford Press, 2004), 21-50.

> pré-kantienne, comme le démontre à la perfection la *théodicée* de Leibniz.[105]

Yet as Ricoeur states, one cannot simply think of theodicy in its literal sense without considering 'les niveaux de discours dans la speculation sur mal' (e.g., mythe, sagesse, gnose et de la gnose anti-gnostique, théodicée and dialectique "brisée") where such a course of theodic thought evolved.[106] One of Ricoeur's differential features in his treatment to the issue of evil is certainly his mastery of phenomenology as a tool to demonstrate the inappropriateness of such a rationale in the assessment of the experience of evil. Ricoeur points out that the significance and complications involved in the challenge of theodicy is that the term evil is frequently employed (at least within the Jewish and Christian traditions) to refer to extensive phenomena in which their meanings cover a wide range of negative experiences between 'le blâme et la lamentation'.[107]

On the one hand, moral evil

> – le péché en langage religieux – désigne ce qui fait de l'action humaine un objet d'imputation, d'accusation et de blâme. L'imputation consiste à assigner à un sujet responsable une action susceptible d'appréciation morale. L'accusation caractérise l'action elle-même comme violation du code éthique dominant dans la communauté considérée. Le blâme désigne le jugement de condamnation en vertu duquel l'auteur de l'action est déclaré coupable et mérite d'être puni. C'est ici que le mal moral interfère avec la souffrance, dans la mesure où la punition est une souffrance infligée.[108]

Suffering, on the other hand,

> se distingue du péché par des traits contraires. A l'imputation qui centre le mal moral sur un agent responsable, la souffrance souligne son caractère essentiellement subi: nous ne la faisons pas arriver; elle nous affecte. De là, la surprenante variété de ses causes: adversité de la nature physique, maladies et infirmités du corps et de l'esprit, affliction produite par la mort d'êtres chers, perspective effrayante de la mortalité propre, sentiment d'indignité personnelle, etc.; à l'opposé de l'accusation qui dénonce une déviance morale, la souffrance se caractérise comme pur contraire du plaisir, comme non-plaisir, c'est-à-dire comme diminution de notre intégrité physique, psychique, spirituelle. Au blâme, enfin et surtout, la souffrance oppose la

[105] Ricoeur, *Mal*, 19-20.
[106] Ibid., 26-51.
[107] Ibid., 21.
[108] Ibid., 22.

> lamentation; car si la faute fait l'homme coupable, la souffrance le fait victime: ce que clame la lamentation.[109]

As reported by Ricoeur, the curious way in which the phenomena of sin and suffering are significantly entangled has led both theologians and philosophers to consider evil as their common root despite their uncontested antagonism.[110]

On the one hand, punishment

> est une souffrance physique et morale surajoutée au mal moral, qu'il s'agisse de châtiment corporel, de privation de liberté, de honte, de remords; c'est pourquoi on appelle la culpabilité elle-même *peine*, terme qui enjambe la fracture entre mal commis et mal subi.[111]

On the other hand,

> une cause principale de souffrance est la violence exercée sur l'homme par l'homme: en vérité, mal faire c'est toujours, à titre direct ou indirect, faire tort à autrui, donc le faire souffrir; dans sa structure relationnelle – dialogique – le mal commis par l'un trouve sa réplique dans le mal subi par l'autre; c'est en ce point d'intersection majeur que le cri de lamentation est le plus aigu, quand l'homme se sent victime de la méchanceté de l'homme; en témoignent aussi bien les *Psaumes* de David que l'analyse par Marx de l'aliénation résultant de la réduction de l'homme à l'état de marchandise.[112]

A similar phenomenon can also be found with the terms derived from the Hebrew root רעע in classical Hebrew, as they also cover a number of variations, depending on different contexts and grammatical functions.[113] A study on the issue of evil in the OT/HB, however, should not be restricted to the analysis of a Hebrew lemma alone since it never appears in isolation besides the fact that its meanings are always determined by the context in which they occur.[114] Despite the fact that it is not always straightforward to distinguish רע functioning

[109] Ibid., 23.
[110] Ibid., 23-34.
[111] Ibid., 24.
[112] Ibid., 24.
[113] *HAL* 1250-253, 1269-270; *DCH* 7:505-09, 529-31.
[114] As Barr has observed, some biblical theology has abused meaning based on 'root meaning of words', as 'the etymology of a word is not a statement about its meaning but about its history'; thereby, he proposes the analysis of 'larger linguistic complexes such as the sentences' instead of focusing on a lexicographical study, as the semantic importance of specific words present variations accordingly to different context. cf. James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: OUP, 1961), 105-10, 265-66.

as an adjective or substantive since the former can sometimes play the role of the latter and vice versa, its meanings are still extensive, offering the following possibilities: bad quality (e.g., ותאכלנה הפרות הרקות והרעות cf. Gen 41:20), not useful (e.g., מעט ורעים היו ימי שני היי cf. Gen 47:9), blackening (e.g., והוציא עליה שם רע cf. Deut 22:14), inclination (e.g., אשר השבו רעות בלב כל־יום cf. Psa 140:3), disapproved ethical conduct (e.g., אם־רע בעיניך cf. Num 22:34), serious illness (e.g., ויך את־איוב בשחין רע מכף רגלו עד קדקדו cf. Job 2:7), calamity (e.g., אף כי־ארבעת שפטי הרעים חרב ורעב וחיה רעה ודבר שלחתי אל־ירושלם cf. Ezek 14:21), something opposite to good (e.g., האדם היה כאחד ממנו לדעת טוב ורע cf. Gen 3:22) and sadness (e.g., כי־ברע פנים ייטב לב cf. Qoh 7:3). The verbal form רעע and its variable stems and states, likewise, indicate various alternatives in terms of the relationship between object, subject and intensity. The qal can suggest the following examples: to be bad or displeasing (e.g., וירע הדבר מאד בעיני אברהם cf. Gen 21:11), to be ill-disposed, hostile or mean (e.g., ורעה עינך באחיך האביון ולא תתן לו וקרא עליך אל־יהוה cf. Deut 15:9), to be sad (e.g., מדוע לא־ירעו פני אשר העיר בית־קברות אבתי חרבה ושעריה אכלו באש cf. Neh 2:3), to be injurious to someone or to go ill with (e.g., וירע למשה בעבורם cf. Psa 106:32). The niphal, however, may indicate suffering harm (e.g., ורעה כסילים ירוע cf. Prov 13:20) while the hiphil might reflect the notions of injury, to harm, treat harshly, destroy or to do evil, act wickedly or do wrong (e.g., כל־הרע אויב בקדש cf. Psa 74:3). It is interesting, however, that out of 787 occurrences of the root רעע in the whole OT/HB, Jeremiah leads by far with the frequency of 146 appearances as the table below illustrates.[115]

Pentateuch	**Genesis**	46
	Exodus	11
	Leviticus	7
	Numbers	15
	Deuteronomy	41
	Joshua	3
	Judges	20

[115] Table adapted from *TDOT* 13:563. Koch even mentions that derivations of this root occur with more frequency in Jeremiah than any other prophet. See Klaus Koch, *Die Propheten II: Babylonisch-persische Zeit* (Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer GmbH, 1978), 27.

Prophets	**1–2 Samuel**	57
	1–2 Kings	63
	Isaiah	31
	Jeremiah	**146**
	Ezekiel	23
	Hosea	8
	Joel	2
	Amos	7
	Obadiah	1
	Jonah	10
	Micah	9
	Nahum	2
	Habakkuk	3
	Zephaniah	2
	Haggai	0
	Zechariah	6
	Malachi	3
Writings	**Psalms**	80
	Job	16
	Proverbs	75
	Ruth	1
	Song of Songs	0
	Qoheleth	32
	Lamentations	3
	Esther	6
	Daniel	4
	Ezra	1
	Nehemiah	17
	1–2 Chronicles	29

It is, however, in *La Symbolique du Mal* that Ricoeur's approach reduces the distance between emic and etic perspectives. By beginning with '"repetition" de l'*aveu* du mal humain', he aims to develop a philosophy of the experience of 'la conscience religieuse' since the act of confession is fundamental for such an experience, as philosophy can explore the meaning of the language employed in confession.[116] For Ricoeur, this preliminary exercise through confession intends to instruct the readers beforehand to understand his argument about specific symbols and myths.[117] The importance of such re-enactment is also supported by Bell's criticism towards the dichotomy between action and thought as proposed in some studies on rituals because such chasm ends up reifying rituals besides the fact that the preference given to the observer over those taking part in rituals privileges the etic perspective at the expense of the emic.[118] Nevertheless, due to his

[116] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 11-17.
[117] Ibid., 17-30.
[118] Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: OUP, 1997), 253-67; —, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 218-23.

philosophical formation Ricoeur has a great interest in speculation alongside a systematic assessment of the issue of evil, but since his approach is grounded on the hermeneutical tradition, he believes that some themes must be considered within the perimeters of this particular tradition before moving to the level of abstraction; thereby, myths and symbols play an important part in Ricoeur's argument in which the former should be understood in the light of the history of religions, where myths are not defined as

> une fausse explication par le moyen d'images et de fables, mais un récit traditionnel, portant sur des événements arrivés à l'origine des temps et destiné à fonder l'action rituelle des hommes d'aujourd'hui et de manière générale à instituer toutes les formes d'action et de pensée par lesquelles l'homme se comprend lui-même dans son monde.[119]

As a philosopher of religion, Eliade presents a helpful explanation about the nature and scope of myths.[120] Unlike false stories, the telling of myths is bound to a specific time and space, which reflect a surviving tradition. Myths provide a narrative of 'une histoire sacrée', which happened in 'le temps primordial', about how 'une réalité est venue à l'existence' through the activity of their main actors ('Êtres Surnaturels').[121] Individuals participate in the myth during the pause from their daily activities in 'une experience vraiment "religieuse"', which re-enacts the myth transporting the participants of such an experience to a different dimension, but this re-enactment is more than a celebration of mythical events because it aims to replicate them.[122] As Gorman states, the priestly *Weltanschauung* thought that the world was created orderly by God and its maintenance was intimately connected by proper management of rituals in which particularly temporal and geographical delimitations had great importance.[123] Amongst several festival calendars in the OT/HB Leviticus 23

[119] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 12-13.
[120] Mircea Eliade, *Aspects du Mythe*, CFE (Paris: Gallimard, 1963), 11-34.
[121] Eliade, *Mythe*, 16-22.
[122] Ibid., 32-34.
[123] Frank H. Gorman Jr., *The Ritual Ideology: Space, Time and Status in the Priestly Theology*, JSOTSup 91 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 229-32.

mentions five of them (Shabbat; Pesash; Shavuot; Yom Kippur and Sukkot). The differences emerging from comparisons between Leviticus 23 and other texts (e.g., Exodus 23; 34; Numbers 28–29; Deuteronomy 16 and Ezekiel 45) have led scholars to suggest different authorship or sources, but after comparing festival cycles alongside shared features and the function of time and space with the multimonth ritual calendar available in the Akkadian text Emar 446, Babcock thinks that it is possible that Leviticus 23 preserved an early West Semitic ritual tradition from the second millennium.[124]

As pointed out by Lévi-Strauss, however, such rituals do not appear from a vacuum but are often created to harmonise the gap between myth and reality, confirming the beliefs within a society through physical performances.[125] Rappaport, likewise, claims that social and religious orders are fixed and supported by rituals and Lee adds that not only did rituals play a significant role organising societies reaffirming them alongside their establishments, but they also helped to identify social and religious transformation alongside the preservation of the religious harmonic order in the midst of chaos.[126] Such transformation are well-observed by both Van Gennep and Turner, as they propose that rituals mark different stages of one's life within its society.[127] In Durkheim's view, within religion rituals are characterised by

> un système solidaire de croyances et de pratiques relatives à des choses sacrées, c'est-à-dire séparées, interdites, croyances et pratiques qui

[124] Bryan C. Babcock, *Sacred Ritual: A Study of the West Semitic Ritual Calendars in Leviticus 23 and the Akkadian Text Emar 446*, BBRSup 9 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 240-43.
[125] Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'The Structural Study of Myth', *JAF* 68 (1955):428-44.
[126] Roy A Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*, CSSCA 110 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 276, 345; Daniel B. Lee, 'Ritual and the Social Meaning and Meaningless of Religion', *SW* 56 (2005):14-15.
[127] Van Gennep divides the rites of passage into preliminary, intermediary and definite stages while Turner labels such phases as structure, anti- and revised structure cf. Arnold Van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage: Études Systmátique des Rites* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1981), 271-80 and Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1969), 200-203.

> unissent en une même communauté morale, appelée Église, tous ceux qui y adhèrent.[128]

Such a dynamic can be illustrated by the ancient Egyptian culture. Even though polytheism does not fully reflect its notion of the divine, within this cosmology the notion of *Ma`at* had a central role and despite the impossible task of translating this idea, such a concept bridges every single aspect of daily life (e.g., law, morality, state and religion).[129] Evil (*jzf.t*) was typified by chaos disrupting the perfect order, existing independently from the presence of deities, as it could be contemplated as intrinsic in the world since the rebellion of mankind (cf. AECT, The Destruction of Mankind, 1), although there are different opinions concerning the deities' responsibility for evil in which humans had the responsibility to reverse evil through magical spells accompanied with clear instructions where magicians reenact divine antecedents (e.g., AECT, Execration Texts) but without any control over their destiny and many areas of life.[130]

Myths, then, are formed by small particles of meaning (i.e., symbols) and once myths cease giving explanation due to their historisation they are demythologised and converted into symbols, which Ricoeur illustrates such a process by the way in which the Pauline Christology historicised the myth of the Fall.[131] Gunkel demonstrated more in depth how the Bible historicised the Babylonian

[128] Emile Durkheim, *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse: Le Système Totémique en Australie* (Paris: Quadrige/PUF, 1912), 69.
[129] Jan Assmann, *Ma'at: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten* (München: C. H. Beck, 2006), 17. According to Loprieno, cosmotheism seems something unique to the Egyptian tradition compared to its neighbours' religious systems, which despite worshiping many gods, their theological attributes were considered uniformly besides the participation of the deities in some form of collaboration with mankind where the figure of pharaoh played a fundamental role as an intermediary cf. A. Loprieno, 'Theodicy in Ancient Egyptian Texts', in *Theodicy in the World of the Bible*, ed. Antti Laato and Johannes C. De Moor (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), 31.
[130] Whilst Williams claims that Egyptian texts do not credit the gods' responsibility for evil, Loprieno argues that such textual traditions present diverse views on the deities' liability, making a distinction between mythological and philosophical discourses cf. Williams, 'Theodicy', 18-19; Loprieno, 'Egyptian', 31-40.
[131] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 13-15.

Chaoskampf myth shifting it from a primordial to an eschatological event through an extensive process of transformation where Yahweh eventually intervened against Israel's historical bullies (e.g., Egypt and Babylon).[132] However, whilst Gunkel limited himself to the development of demytholisation in the Bible attributing it to formation of monotheism, Childs proposed that such a process aimed to deal with the issue of myth and was related to Israel's own understanding of reality.[133] In Childs's view, such a new reality is materialised within the historical Israel, whose relationship with its God is retold in the Bible where the *Heilsgeschichte* is the story of Israel's experience.[134] Nonetheless, in Ricoeur's mind symbols are clearly connected to hermeneutics on the grounds that they are part of the interpretation of myths, having both a literal meaning and another sense that transcends beyond the literal and can be divided into cosmic, oneiric and poetic spheres.[135] Whilst the first one is connected to the world (e.g., sky, earth and water), the second one refers to the psyche (e.g., dreams) and the last one is related to expressivity (e.g., poetic imagination in its birth phase). [136]

Defilement appears as Ricoeur's first primary symbol of evil, which occurs objectively when something 'quasiment matériel, qui infecte comme une saleté, qui nuit par des propriétés invisibles et qui pourtant opère à la façon d'une force, dans le champ de notre existence indivisément psychique et corporelle', triggering some form of a 'colère anonyme; cette violence sans visage de la Rétribution, s'inscrit dans le monde humain en lettres de souffrance', but it is also

[132] Hermann Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12*, with contribution of Heinrich Zimmern (Göttingen: Vandenhoek und Ruprecht, 1895), 314-35.
[133] Brevard S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament*, SBT 27, 2nd ed. (London: SCM Press, 1962), 95-97.
[134] Childs, *Myth*, 99-106.
[135] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 17-21.
[136] Ibid., 21-24.

experienced subjectively as 'l'ordre de la Crainte'.[137] However attractive the idea of fear might be, Douglas argues that some primitive religious groups suggest that perhaps reverence seems a more appropriate description to concerns about hygiene in which dirt essentially reflects disorder. With the use of the notion of taboo to explain the boundaries between cleanness and uncleanness, she proposes that such concepts are guided by 'concerns for hygiene' and 'conventions'.[138] Furthermore, such protocols replicate social orders through symbolic power structures which culturally preestablish communities' perceptions of dirtiness.[139] However alien some of these conventions might be to the modern reader, as Gert claims, if moral values shared by a particular group are impartial and rational amongst those belonging to this same group, such morality still seems justified because it explicitly and precisely transpires clarity and coherency, which are the fundamental requisites for a common morality.[140] In ancient Israel, the priestly class played an important part in its social structures and were responsible for a great deal of rules concerning purity and impurity. According to Jenson, priestly writings indicates some form of a graded system of holiness, which reflects how ancient Israel viewed its relationship with their god, the world and society, touching fundamental spheres, such as space, person, ritual and time.[141] Furthermore, Milgrom proposes that rules concerning impurity in conjunction to a symbolic apparatus, which direct the Israelites to spurn death, so choosing life, tie the link between purity and morality since Yahweh is introduced as the exemplary קדוש in contrast to טמא, which

[137] Ibid., 31-36.
[138] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London and New York: Routledge, 1966), 1-29.
[139] Douglas, *Purity*, 30-41.
[140] See Bernard Gert, *Morality: Its Nature and Justification*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 13-14.
[141] Philip Peter Jenson, *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World*, JSOTSup 106 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 210-19.

besides its sense of impurity also carries the meaning of rejection of morality.[142]

As Douglas argues, however, perceptions regarding pure and impure are still present in modern times, although they are often secularised; yet within such power edifices, dirtiness is then, defined by abnormality or something that does not fit within the norm.[143] Nevertheless, for McKay, unless the categories of religion and morality are fractionised into a series of convincing biological and psychological features, disclosing the bases of the perceptions that formed and placed the boundaries of the pertinent culture in question, one will find it difficult to assess the relationship between religion and morality.[144] In this regard, Kazen proposes that analogies of the origins and development of human morality suggest that difficulties in explaining human abnormalities are consistently interpreted using impurity language and also share signs that can be attributed to emotions of human repugnance towards certain substances.[145]

Yet in Ricoeur's mind, defilement symbolises evil without distinguishing 'l'éthique' from 'physique', existing before 'mal' and 'malheur' were separated since they are simply seen as an impurity which contaminates and its antidote involves some form of 'rites de purification', implying that this symbolism reflects something external to an individual since it appears to be connected to incidents in the world instead of someone's intention.[146] Such remarks can certainly find some supports in the OT/HB, especially in terms of contact with human and animal corpses, individuals or something with bodily discharges or contaminated by skin diseases (cf. Leviticus 11–15; Num

[142] Jacob Milgrom, 'Rationale for Cultic Law: The Case of Impurity', *Sem* 45 (1989): 103-109.
[143] Douglas, *Purity*, 52-54.
[144] Ryan McKay, 'Religion and Morality', *PB* 141 (2015):447-73.
[145] Thomas Kazen, 'Dirt and Disgust: Body and Morality in Biblical Purity Laws', in *Perspectives on Purity and Purification in the Bible*, ed. by Naphtali S. Meshel et al., LHB/OTS 474 (New York and London: T&T Clark, 2008), 43-64.
[146] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 31-35.

19:11-22; 31:19-24) where טמא appears with frequency, but the common feature in these cases seems somehow related to purity.[147] As Klawans points out, however, the Hebrew scriptures employ the term defilement to address different phenomena under two purity systems which are not necessarily in opposition or mutually exclusive but whilst 'ritual impurity' is related to rituals concerning natural inevitable impurity, 'moral impurity' deals with matters related to transgressions, such as sex, murder and idolatry.[148] Despite Klawans' acknowledgement that the OT/HB presents a number of cases in which defilement is used metaphorically (e.g., Isa 1:15-17), he discards the premise that literal and metaphorical are primary and secondary developments based on the difficulty in terms of dating prophetical and priestly material and argues that in many cases it should be understood literally (e.g., Jeremiah 2–3).[149] Washing in water, similarly, also appear at times as a ritual, metaphor or initiation, and sometimes even intersecting, but according to Lawrence, the majority of text focuses mainly in either of these categories. As one would expect, priestly material in the Pentateuch tends to focus on ritual washing whereas the Prophets and the Writings emphasise metaphor. In some Second Temple Judaism writings (e.g., Josephus and Philo), however, רחץ is employed for washing people whereas כבס is used for objects, although this difference is not obvious in Greek.[150]

Another point made by Ricoeur is that the relationship 'entre la souillure et la souffrance a été d'autant plus tenace qu'elle a fourni longtemps un schème de rationalisation, une première esquisse de

[147] See David P. Wright, 'Purification from Corpse-Contamination in Numbers XXXI 19-24', *VT* 35 (1985):213-23; Margaret Lloyd Davies, 'Levitical Leprosy: Uncleanness and the Psyche', *ET* 99 (1988):136-39.
[148] Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York and Oxford: OUP, 2000), 21-31, 37-38.
[149] Klawans, *Impurity*, 32-36.
[150] Jonathan David Lawrence, *Washing in Water: Trajectories of Ritual Bathing in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, SBLAB 23 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 185-86.

causalité', and suffering is then experienced by the judgment of others, who under the influence of the connotations caused by the term 'souillure', making defilement both a social and a linguistic phenomenon.[151] The idea of cause and effect was surely widespread in the ANE and consequently in the OT/HB, but such a feeling may be argued in terms of the stigma resulted from the imposition of quarantine or interdiction as a consequence of being in contact with impurity (e.g., contact with dead bodies or skin diseases) which requires some form of cleaning, such as bathing or fire. Apart from the differences in terms of gender in ancient Israel from the contemporary world, such stigmatisation seems even aggravated depending on the gender,[152] but despite that, the central aspect of order still appears present in Ricoeur's symbolism of defilement, as he argues that 'la peur de la vengeance n'est pas une simple peur passive, elle enveloppe déjà une exigence, celle d'une juste punition', as intents to 'réaffirmer l'ordre' hoping that 'la crainte elle-même disparaisse de la vie de la conscience, au terme de sa sublimation'.[153]

After all, it seems to me that Ricoeur's perception of defilement corresponds to Klawans' category of 'ritual impurity' since he does not associate it to the individual's intensions. Nonetheless, Jeremiah's case appears to be closer to what Klawans calls 'moral defilement'. This becomes more evident if one takes into account that the book often seems to attribute such a defilement as the cause for such a disaster.

[151] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 35-39.
[152] See Linda S. Schearing, 'Double Time… Double Trouble? Gender, Sin and Leviticus 12', in *The Book of Leviticus: Composition and Reception*, ed. Rolf Rendtorff and Robert A. Kluger with the assistance of Sarah Smith Bartel, VTSup 93 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 429-50; Judith Romney Wegner, '"Coming Before the Lord:" The Exclusion of Women from the Public Domain of the Israelite Priestly Cult', in *The Book of Leviticus: Composition and Reception*, ed. Rolf Rentorff and Robert A. Kluger with the assistance of Sarah Smith Bartel, VTSup XCIII, FIOTL III (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 452-65; David Tabb Stewart, 'Does the Priestly Purity Code Domesticate Woman?' in *Perspectives on Purity and Purification in the Bible*, ed. by Naphtali S. Meshel et al., LHB/OTS 474 (New York and London: T&T Clark, 2008), 65-73.
[153] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 39-50.

3.3. Dimensions of Evil

(a) Disaster

Although the idea of רעה/רע as a catastrophe affecting Judah appears within Jeremiah with more frequency, there are a few instances in which the term refers to other nations. Except for Jer 2:3, where the identity of those who take advantage of Israel is not mentioned, the OAN reveal Moab, Elam and Babylon as the target of disastrous events (cf. Jer 48:2, 16; 49:37; 51:60, 64). Scholars diverge on whether the key to understanding the purpose of the OAN and their significance lies in the nations or if the focus should be on the way in which these oracles were used in ancient Israel instead. For Hayes, the contexts of warfare, cultic services of lamentation and the royal court are within the horizon of the OAN, but particularly the first two seem to correspond to an imminent crisis with Jeremiah fitting within the warfare background.[154] Others propose that the OAN evolve the war oracles moving them from the military sphere to that of discourses about judgment. Particularly Jeremiah's oracle against Elam (Jer 49:34-39) shifts from a political historical situation to an eschatological dimension since the purpose of this oracle is no longer about political affairs, but the survival of Israel instead.[155] An alternative perspective proposed by Reimer does not discard the importance of Babylon in Jeremiah 50–51. He accepts that these oracles continued evolving until

[154] John H. Hayes, 'The Usage of Oracles Against Foreign Nations in Ancient Israel', *JBL* 87 (1968):81-92.
[155] See Duane L. Christensen, *Prophecy and War in Ancient Israel: Studies in the Oracles Against the Nations in Old Testament Prophecy*, BMS 3 (Berkeley: Bibal Press, 1975), 281-83; John B. Geyer, 'Mythology and Culture in the Oracle Against the Nations', *VT* 36 (1986):129-42. Even Barton, who defends that the OAN in Amos were originally composed by the prophet, does not think that Amos was alluding to some contemporary situation of his time. Thus, it is more likely that the prophet is referring to an event that happened long ago cf. John Barton, *Amos' Oracles Against the Nations*, SOTSMS 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 46-50. Geyer, 'Mythology', 141-42.

the restoration period, recognising that differentiating authentic from non-authentic words is virtually impossible, but he does not rule out that these oracles could have originated within anti-Babylonian sentiments during the exilic era despite the strong pro-Babylonian tendency in Jeremiah.[156] The chief purpose of such anti-Babylonian oracles, however, were not the notion of retribution, but the idea of Yahweh's lordship over the whole world.[157] Even so, the presence of the oracular formulas combined with the use of first person voice alongside references about enmity in the OAN clearly posits Yahweh as the driving force behind such disaster inflicted towards these nations.

Most occurrences, however, still present the tragedy as a divine judgment against Judah. The first occurrence appears within the context of the second vision (Jer 1:14) in which מצפון תפתח הרעה על כל־ ישבי הארץ is a clear reference to לכל־משפחות ממלכות צפונה and פתח שערי ירושלם ועל כל סביב ועל כל־ערי יהודה in 1:15. This verse in addition to Jer 4:6 and 6:1 attribute the origin of רעה as מצפנן. The presence of וחרב ורעב, למלחמה ולרעה ולדבר, בחרב וברעב often next to רעה (cf. Jer 5:12; 28:8; 42:17; 44:27) evoke images of warfare and its aftermath, although allusions to war are not restricted to the triad (weapons, famine and pestilence) as the choice of vocabulary is never neutral. Comparative methods between Assyrian and Israelite cultures have been used by Chapman and Crouch to explore this matter.[158] Chapman insights from

[156] David J. Reimer, *The Oracles Against Babylon in Jeremiah 50–51: A Horror Among the Nations* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1993), 289-90.
[157] Reimer, *Oracles*, 289-91; G. G. L. Peels, '"You Shall Certainly Drink!": The Place and Significance of the Oracles Against the Nations in the Book of Jeremiah', *EuroJTh* 16 (2007):81-91; Harry M. Orlinsky, 'Nationalism – Universalism in the Book of Jeremiah', in *Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in Honour of Morton S. Enslin on the Hebrew Bible and Christian Beginnings* ed. by John Reumann (Toronto: G. R. Welch, 1972), 63-79.
[158] Cynthia R. Chapman, *The Gendered Language of Warfare in the Israelite-Assyrian Encounter*, HSM 62 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 1-19; C. L. Crouch, *War and Ethics in the Ancient Near East: Military Violence in Light of Cosmology and History*, BZAW 407 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009) 11-32.

gender studies combined with theories of metaphor reveal that gendered language were employed in the context of warfare between Assyria and Israel and indicate that both shared cultural perspectives and literary protocols.[159] Their significance continues to influence even during the rise of the Babylonian power and perhaps the most obvious example in Jeremiah can be found in Jeremiah 2–3 which bears considerable resemblances with Hosea.[160] Another shared feature between ancient Assyria, Israel and Judah noticed by Crouch is between god and the king as warriors, as she observes that within the dichotomous framework of chaos-cosmos the earthly king's battles reflect a cosmic battle against chaos.[161] Thus, Crouch proposes that 'the identification of moral order with cosmic order meant that the submission of the chaotic other was not only morally tolerable but morally imperative'.[162]

Nevertheless, the fact that Babylon plays a major role in Jeremiah instinctively leads the reader to identify it with the threat from the North[163] since allusions of other nations at the deity's service to execute the divine plan is not uncommon in the OT/HB. Cyrus, for example, is referred to as למשיחו within the context of the homecoming (cf. Isa 45:1), but the role of the enemies as the divine judgment is still more frequent. Judges is a good illustration of Israel's enemies brought by Yahweh as punishment and Isa 10:5-6 even refers to אשור as שבט אפי ומטה־הוא בידם זעמי בגוי הנף אשלחנו ועל־עם עברתי אצונו לשלל ולבז בז ולשימו מרמס כחמר חוצות. Even with divergent opinions, such as Lemke and Overholt, regarding the title נבוכדראצר מלך־בבל עבדי in Jer 25:9; 27:6;

[159] Chapman, *Gendered*, 1-19.
[160] Ibid., 112-35, 164-72.
[161] Crouch, *War*, 15-32.
[162] Ibid., 191.
[163] Out of 262 occurrences in the OT/HB, 149 appear in Jeremiah without counting the cases in which the book uses the *Atbash* ששך and כשדים, which otherwise would make the number even higher.

43:10,[164] the correlation between the danger from the North and Babylon should not be considered as something absurd. Hyatt, for instance, does not hesitate in making such associations.[165] Yet the fact that references about Babylon only appear from Jeremiah 20 onwards led some scholars like Ackroyd to suggest that it is unlikely that the oracles in Jeremiah 1–25 originally referred to Babylon as the enemy from the North.[166] Van Der Toorn even places the oracles of Jer 3:4–6:31 within the period of Hosea.[167] Early scholarship, however, tended to identify the foe from the North with the Scythians,[168] although Torrey made the association with the army of Alexander the Great.[169]

The problem with Babylon, however, emerges when the reader notices that Jer 50:3, 9 also refer to מצפן as where the enemies against Babylon come from. The term זפן admittedly has significant importance in Jeremiah as it has for the OT/HB. Since the location of Israel/Judah is surrounded by natural obstacles, such as the Mediterranean Sea to the West and the Arabian Desert in the East and South-East, leaving both at a disadvantaged position in the midst of the crossfire between the great politico-military powers (e.g., Egypt, Assyria and Babylon), at a first glance one would be easily inclined to interpret זפן geographically due to the fact that most of the successful offensives resulted from assaults coming from the North (e.g., the Assyrian invasions and the Babylonian domination cf. 2 Kgs 17; 18:13-37; 24; 25:1-26).[170] Alternatively, some scholars, such as Volz and Welch,

[164] Werner E. Lemke, '"Nebuchadnezzar, My Servant"', *CBQ* 28 (1966):45-50; Thomas W. Overholt, 'Nebuchadnezzar in Jeremiah Tradition', *CBQ* 30 (1968):39-48.
[165] Hyatt, 'Peril', 511-12.
[166] Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C.* OTL (London: SCM Press/Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968), 50-52.
[167] Van Der Toorn, *Scribal*, 202.
[168] Duhm, xiv. Only few still hold this position nowadays, see for example, Edwin M. Yamauchi, 'The Scythians: Invading Hordes from the Russian Steppes', *BA* 46 (1983):90-99.
[169] Charles C. Torrey, 'The Background of Jeremiah 1–10', *JBL* 56 (1937):193-216.
[170] *ABD* 4:1135-136.

have understood the term זפן as Yahweh's eschatological judgment[171] whilst others like Hill, Kessler and Brueggemann attribute a dialectical role to Babylon or focus on its rhetoric of mercy.[172] Despite being less frequent, there is at least one example of a successful invasion from the South (i.e., the battle of Megiddo cf. 2 Kgs 23:24-30) which weakens the geographical interpretation. Thus, some like Childs, Reimer and Day point to ANE parallels, such as the chaos tradition or mount *ṣpn* as the place where the judgment comes from.[173] In any case, Niditch argues that such a veto towards Babylon is interpreted by the Deuteronomists as Yahweh's justice and legitimised by the priestly ideology as vengeance resulting from the destruction of the temple.[174]

(b) Sinful Actions: Apostasy

Despite that, one needs not to decide between a specific foreign aggressor and Yahweh's judgment since these two elements are often combined in the OT/HB where the enemy executes divine judgment. Whichever the identity of the enemy, the deity is presented as the one who raises the threat to punish his people's wrong doings. Yet the subject of 'moral defilement' still seems to be the case in Jeremiah.

The fundamental difference between Ricoeur's first and second primary symbols of evil is rather phenomenological than historical since 'la catégorie qui commande la notion du "péché" est la catégorie du "devant" Dieu', which 'la constitution préalable de ce lien de

[171] Paul Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia: übersetzt und erklärt*, KAT (Leipzig and Erlangen: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922), 58; Adam C. Welch, *Jeremiah, His Time and his Works* (Oxford: OUP, 1928), 97-131.
[172] See Hill, *Friend*, 193-218; Kessler, 211-14; Walter Brueggemann, *A Social Reading of the Old Testament: Prophetic Approaches to Israel's Communal Life* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1994), 111-33.
[173] See Brevard S. Childs, 'The Enemy from the North', *JBL* 78 (1959):187-98; David J. Reimer, 'The "Foe" and the "North" in Jeremiah', *ZAW* 101 (1989):223-32; Day, Yahweh, 107-09.
[174] Susan Niditch, *War in the Hebrew Bible: A Study in the Ethics of Violence* (New York and Oxford: OUP, 1993), 68, 80.

"l'Alliance" qui importe à la conscience de péché; c'est elle qui fait du péché une lésion de l'Alliance'.[175] This scenario which creates a situation where 'l'exigence infinite' meets 'le commandement fini' and a gap between them results in 'crainte' and 'distance' in which the fear of a 'colère anonyme' now converts into the fear of 'la colère de Dieu'.[176] As discussed earlier, however, perhaps the idea of reverence seems more suitable than fear; however, Ricoeur's claim that defilement and sin are distinguished by the category of 'before God' might not find support in the OT/HB since both ritual and moral defilement are arguably attached to some form of divine commandments in the OT/HB.[177]

Guilt, the last of Ricoeur's primary symbols of evil, however, internalises and personalises sin, designing 'le moment *subjectif* de la faute, comme le péché en est le moment *ontologique*; le péché désigne la situation réelle de l'homme devant Dieu'.[178] Accordingly, 'la culpabilité est la prise de conscience de cette situation réelle et, si on ose dire, le "pour soi" de cette espèce d'"en soi"'.[179] On the one hand, defilement 'est un moment contemporain de la souillure' and its distinctive nature is reflected by the fact that 'il n'a pas besoin d'être l'auteur du mal pour se sentir chargé de son poids et du poids de ses conséquences', although it results from 'l'usage mauvais de la liberté'.[180] On the other hand, 'l'interpellation prophétique a transformé l'Alliance de simple contrat juridique entre Jahvé et son peuple en une accusation et une adjuration personnelles' where 'la "conscience" qui

[175] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 51-54.
[176] Ibid., 65-72.
[177] See the entry of terms, such as תועבה ,חנף ,שקץ ,פשע ,עון ,חטא ,אשם ,נבל and רשע, in *HAL* 305, 335, 800, 979, 1646, 1702-704; *DCH* 3:194-97, 276-77, 6:307-11, 790; 8:555-556, 607-609; *TDOT* 4:310; *ABD* 6:31-32.
[178] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 99-101.
[179] Ibid., 100.
[180] Ibid., 100-101.

maintenant devient *mesure* du mal dans une expérience de solitude totale'.[181]

Apart from Jer 44:17, where it implies that the offerings to מלכת השמים prevented the people from facing misfortune,[182] numbers of occurrences – using either 1cs, 2ms or 3ms – do not hesitate to point Yahweh as the entity behind the catastrophic events.[183] In some cases, however, רע/רעה might not directly bear the sense of disaster since it could be just something harmful (e.g., Jer 7:6; 26:19; 38:9; 39:12), trouble (e.g., Jer 15:11 and possibly 17:16[184]) or a contrast to טוב/טובה (e.g., Jer 32:42). Yet even with these possibilities in mind, the term could still be referring to some form of military attack or difficulties brought by the deity (e.g., Jer 10:5; 25:6-7 as the presence of the term חרב in vv. 27 and 29 suggest; 29:11). Something similar can also be seen in terms of רע/רעה as trouble since the context of passages like Jer 2:27-28, 11:12, 14 and 14:8 somehow alludes to some sort of catastrophe.

In Jeremiah such a disaster takes shape predominantly in reflections about the exile, which in agreement with Joo, is a central question that the book wrestles with since it attempts to find the reason behind the fall of Jerusalem of which the first impression is its connection with the problem of apostasy and consequently the people's own sin.[185] As some references above hint, the book presents the impression of an act-consequence nexus in which the disaster is intimately linked with the people's wicked actions. Such a rationale is highlighted by the short

[181] Ibid., 102.
[182] According to Day and Vriezen, this might be a reference to Asherah worship cf. Day, *Yahweh*, 131; Vriezen, 'Archaeological', 67-71.
[183] E.g., Jer 1:16; 4:4; 6:19; 7:32-34; 11:11, 17, 23; 19:3, 15; 23:12; 32:23, 42; 35:17; 36:31; 40:2; 42:10; 44:2, 22-23; 45:5.
[184] The vocalisation of Jer 17:16 in 𝔐 alongside its Latin translation in the Vulgate raises some textual challenges, as one possibility for רעה in this verse might be shepherd cf. McKane, *Jeremiah,* vol. 1, 409-14.
[185] Samantha Joo, *Provocation and Punishment: The Anger of God in the Book of Jeremiah and Deuteronomistic Theology*, BZAW 361 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 1-3.

sentence פרי מחשבותם in Jer 6:19, which is a clear reference to the result of the people's רעה/רע resulting in Yahweh bringing רעה/רע from the North, next to the sentence שנת פקדתם in Jer 23:12.

The idea of retribution is something widespread in the ANE and, as expected, also in the OT/HB.[186] According to Van Der Toorn, two Akkadian writings: the Babylonian Theodicy (also known as the Babylonian Job) and *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* (I shall praise the Lord of Wisdom) clearly presents this retributive mindset, which is based on the assumption that gods and mankind share resemblances regarding their perception of good and evil (e.g., Counsels of Wisdom, 46-51).[187] Such an act-consequence nexus, which reflects the law of nature in 'the traditional theology of the Mesopotamian scholars' grounded on 'knowledge from experience', promotes a common feeling that pain results from one's own actions, although the actual reality proves the opposite.[188] To respond to such incongruity, there is the idea that no one is innocent, as there might be sins from their youth or sins of which the individual might be unaware (e.g., *gellatī ša māda la idû,* KUB 4, 17:7).[189] Another determining point raised by Van Der Toorn is that the theme of theodicy only turns into an important social concern when the whole of society experiences a transformation of its traditional values and he believes that such a change can be found within the cuneiform tradition, as it witnesses 'a process of social upheaval and a crisis of the tradition ideologies' opening the way to new perspectives.[190] In this

[186] From the contrast between poverty and wealth to illness and health, the notion of act-consequence in both the ANE and OT/HB, but particularly in prophets, the connection between sin and punishment is often expressed in terms of political crises as curses resulting from the breaking of the covenant. Yet a theological crisis emerges when such a retribution does not accord with the prosperity of the wicked cf. Joseph Blenckinsopp, *Wisdom and Law in the Old Testament: The Ordering of Life in Israel and Early Judaism*, OB, 2nd. ed. (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 46-83.
[187] K. Van Der Toorn, 'Theodicy in Akkadian Literature', in *Theodicy in the World of the Bible*, ed. Antti Laato and Johannes C. De Moor (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), 57-60.
[188] Van Der Toorn, 'Akkadian', 61-62; Williams, 'Theodicy', 14-15.
[189] Van Der Toorn, 'Akkadian', 62-63.
[190] Ibid., 62-63, 71.

sense, the Old Babylonian Man and his God, which presents similarities with the biblical Job, might not assume righteousness of its main protagonist, but it could be a message urging 'an attitude of care and kindness towards those that find themselves' in distressing situations.[191] Regarding the Babylonian Theodicy, it reflects an increasing cynicism regarding the idea of retribution in which the writer freely expresses his opinion against the traditional orthodoxy of his time in a dialogue, which facilitates the communication of ideas regarding underserved suffering (Babylonian Theodicy, 64-66).[192]

The extensive distribution of the act-consequence reasoning in the OT/HB led Koch to a generalisation, as he claims that retribution seems more frequent in sapiencial and prophetic literature alongside the Psalter. In wisdom writings, retribution is applied mainly to individuals, although in few instances it is also used to the whole nation, but the Psalms tends to highlight the importance of Yahweh's involvement in such retributive act.[193] Barton, however, challenges this generalisation, as the prophets resemble talionic laws where Yahweh is introduced as an intervening agent in the world's business and his judgment is portrayed by them in forensic terms while wisdom is grounded on some form of natural theology in which retribution occurs

[191] Ibid., 64. Job seems by far the most philosophical text in the OT/HB, but it still reflects different perceptions of the relationship between God, humanity and evil in relation to Leibniz's theodicy. Yet this does not mean that Job's writers do not wrestle with the issue of suffering of the righteous, cf. Gabrielle Oberhänsli, 'Job in Modern and Contemporary Literature on the Background of Tradition: Sidelights of a Jewish Reading', in *Reading Job Intertextually,* ed. Katharine Dell and Will Kynes, LHBOTS 574 (New York and London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 274. Interestingly, however, are the areas of intersections between Job and Jeremiah, particularly those associated with the theme of suffering. Greenstein has even suggested that the former was inspired by the character and the writing of the latter cf. Edward L. Greenstein, 'Jeremiah as an Inspiration to the Poet of Job', in *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honour of Herbert B. Huffmon*, T&T Clark BS (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 98-110.
[192] Van Der Toorn, 'Akkadian', 65-76; Williams, 'Theodicy', 14-18.
[193] Klaus Koch, 'Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im Alten Testament?' *ZTK* 52 (1955):1-42.

automatically.[194] By contrast, Deuteronomistic writings and Lamentations are close to the prophetic view, as they clearly emphasise the divine intervention in human affairs where punishment was plainly presented as a consequence of disobedience.[195]

Particularly in Jeremiah this causal relationship with the deity's participation in Jeremiah is often indicated by (A) = a divine judgment in which its reason is explained as (B) = a consequence of the people's behaviour (e.g., Jer 4:4; 14:16; 33:5). The order, however, may vary between A→B or the reverse B→A (e.g., Jer 23:10-12; 44:22) besides the fact that these two elements might not necessarily always appear in the same verse. The main cause is clearly the issue of apostasy as indicated by the following phrases:

1:16	על כל־רעתם אשר עזבוני ויקטרו לאלהים אחרים וישתחוו למעשי ידיהם
2:19	תיסרך רעתך ומשבותיך תוכחך... כי־רע ומר עזבך את־יהוה אלהיך ולא פחדתי אליך
6:19	פרי מחשבותם כי על־דברי לא הקשיבו ותורתי וימאסו־בה
7:26,	ולוא שמעו אלי ולא הטו את־אזנם ויקשו את־ערפם הרעו מאבותם
7:30	כי־עשו בני־יהודה הרע בעיני... שמו שקוציהם בבית אשרנקרא־שמי עליו לטמאו
9:2	וידרכו את־לשונם קשתם שקר ולא לאמונה גברו בארץ כי מרעה אל־רעה יצאו ואתי לא־ידעו
11:10,	שבו על־עונת אבותם הראשנים אשר מאנו לשמוע את־דברי והמה הלכו אחרי אלהים אחרים לעבדם הפרו בית־ישראל ובית־יהודה את־בריתי אשר כרתי את־אבותם
11:17,	בגלל רעט בית־ישראל ובית יהודה אשר עשו להם להכעסני לקטר לבעל
19:4-5	יען אשר עזבני וינכרו את־המקום הזה ויקטרו־בו לאלהים אחרים אשר לא־ידעום... ומלאו את־המקום הזה דם נקים ובנו את־במות הבעל לשרף את־בניהם באש עלות לבעל אשר לא־צויתי...
19:15	כי הקשו את־ערפם לבלתי שמוע את־דברי
32:23,	ולא־שמעו בקולך ובתרותך לא־הלכו...
32:30,	כי־היו בני־ישראל ובני יהודה אך עשים הרע בעיני... אך מכעסים אתי במעשה ידיהם
32:33-35	ויפנו אלי ערף ולא פנים... ואינם שמעים... וישימו שקוציהם בבית אשר־נקרא־שמי עליו לטמאו
35:14	ולא שמעתם אלי

[194] John Barton, *Ethics in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 217-20.
[195] Barton, *Ethics*, 220.

35:16 והעם הזה לא שמעו אלי
40:3 כי־חטאתם ליהוה ולא־שמעתם בקולו
44:3 מפני רעתם אשר עשו להכעסני ללכת לקטר לעבד לעבד לאלהים אחרים אשר לא ידעום...
44:8 להכעסני במעשי ידיכם לקטר לאלהים אחרים...
44:10 לא דכאו עד היום הזה ולא יראו ולא־הלכו בתורתי ובחקתי...
44:16 איננו שמעים אליך
44:23 מפני אשר קטרתם ואשר חטאתם ליהוה ולא שמעתם בקול יהוה ובתרתו ובחקתיו ובעדותיו לא הלכתם...

The examples above clearly indicate that רעה/רע does not refer to the idea of a disaster alone, as it also refers to the people's apostasy, which are retributed with the calamity driven by Yahweh. Nonetheless, according to Ricoeur, the negative effect of sin is a fracture in the relationship between the deity and its people established in the covenant reducing them to 'néant' compared to anything related to the deity; such rupture, however, is not irreversible, which also reveals a dimension where the

> symbolisme de la souillure dans celui du péché, trouve son prolongement dans une symbolique de la rédemption qui complète celle du pardon que nous avons laissée en suspens et qui, à son tour, assure la reprise du symbolisme de la 'purification' dans celui du 'pardon'.[196]

Even though both defilement and sin (or 'ritual and moral defilement' using Klawans' categories) belong to different systems which are under some form of divine stipulations, both affect in some way the relationship between the deity and the people. But like the differences between 'ritual' and 'moral defilement', Klawans observes visible distinctions in sacrificial systems, such as location, frequency, their binding character and procedure, as some sacrifices are conducted within the sanctuary whilst others are carried out outside. Additionally, certain sacrifices are seasonal while others are performed on a daily basis; furthermore, some of them are compulsory whereas others are elective (e.g., burnt and the Passover offerings cf. Exodus 12 and 29). Accordingly, sacrifices associated with 'ritual defilement' seems

[196] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 91.

somehow related to the maintenance of the deity's presence in the sanctuary and to sanctify the individuals in the likeness of god whereas animal sacrifices somewhat correspond to 'immoral defilement'.[197]

A common element regarding evil as sinful actions is that it needs some measure of cleaning and forgiveness due to the people's offenses, which interestingly appear in a few passages in Jeremiah related to words of hope and the oracles against Babylon (cf. Jer 31:4; 33:8; 50:20). The first two references, in particular, are located within what is commonly known as the 'book of consolation'. Potter explains that this title results from the fact that Jeremiah 30–33 present future hopes in a book, which the rabbis considered to be mostly about distress.[198] Carroll, however, argues that technically this title only applies to Jeremiah 30–31 since the following two chapters are part of the redaction of the narrative tradition located in the second half of the book.[199] Still, the challenge of these chapters involves the explanation of the relationship between the positive words and the negative tone in most of the book, although variations between judgment and hope frequently occur in prophetic literature. Different proposals have been presented to address this issue. Sweeney maintains the scholarly position that argues for an authentic nucleus of Jeremiah's poetry within these chapters, which supports Josiah's expansionist campaign with the goal of returning the northern kingdom, was recycled after the Fall of Jerusalem between 597 and 582 BCE.[200] By contrast, McKane argues that Israel and Jacob in most occurrences of Jeremiah 30–31 refer to both the Northern Kingdom and Judah, although it is possible

[197] See Jonathan Klawans, 'Pure Violence: Sacrifice and Defilement in Ancient Israel', *HTR* 94 (2001):133-55.
[198] H. D. Potter, 'The New Covenant in Jeremiah XXXI 31-34', *VT* 33 (1983):347.
[199] Carroll, *Chaos*, 204.
[200] Marvin A. Sweeney, 'Jeremiah 30–31 and King Josiah's Program of National Restoration and Religious Reform', *ZAW* 108 (1996):569-83.

that in some instances (e.g., Jer 31:4, 21) they allude to Ephraim.[201] Schmid, however, rejects that these chapters contain any poetry from the prophet, proposing that this block evolved from expansions interlinked to the rest of the book[202] while Stipp maintains an authentic nucleus of Jeremiah's poetry, which served as the basis for later expansions.[203] But leaving the debate on composition aside for the moment, Clements points to the significance of noticing how these chapters reflect retrospectively on earlier oracles, originally negative, and recycle them transforming them into positive words of hope addressing the resurgence of Israel from the exile in Babylon.[204] In Böhmer's terms, 'die Bundesformel ist nicht mehr die Begründung der Paränese und kann nicht mehr zu einer Anklage werden'.[205] Some of the binding pieces in Jeremiah 30–31 observed by Carroll, include the purpose of the book as ימים באים referring to the time when Yahweh ושבתי את־שבות עמי ישראל ויהודה.[206] Particularly the presence שוב is noteworthy since the pre-requisite of repentance in the following passages (Jer 18:8, 10-11; 23:22; 25:5; 26:3; 35:15; 36:3, 7; 44:5) seems to accentuate the triangular relationship between the deity, disaster and the people's deeds in which especially the term שוב plays a key role. Additionally, Carroll observes the following connections between the OAN and the book of consolation: whilst Yahweh will punish Israel without making 'a complete end of it', the nations will face complete destruction.[207] This suggests that 'the Jeremiah tradition developed away from the views of Jeremiah on the nation and the nations', is interpreted as 'salvation for Israel, destruction for the

[201] William McKane, 'The Composition of Jeremiah 30–31', in *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran*, ed. Michael V. Fox et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 187-94.
[202] Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 376-88.
[203] Stipp, 'Verfasserschaft', 184-206.
[204] Ronald E. Clements, 'Jeremiah, Prophet of Hope', *R&E* 78 (1981):346.
[205] Siegmund Böhmer, *Heimkehr und neuer Bund: Studien zu Jeremia 30–31*, GTA 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 109
[206] Carroll, *Chaos*, 203-205,
[207] Ibid., 206.

nations'.[208] More specific in terms of the oracles against Babylon, as reported by Reimer, Jer 50:20 contains two traditions: one involving restoration along the lines of a new relationship between Yahweh and Israel based on his forgiveness for his peoples' sins and another based on the promise of 'fruitfulness and comfort in the land of Israel'.[209] Unterman's definition of the term 'repentance' based on the Hebrew שוב seems useful at this stage of our discussion since the redirection of Israel to Yahweh's path is what makes the restoration of the divine blessings possible.[210] Similarly, McConville claims that the treatment of the topic of repentance is conducted in awareness of Judah's crucial failure to repent raising questions about Yahweh's treatment of his people.[211] McConville suggests two possibilities: judgement or hope in the future beyond the exile in an idealised reunion of Israel and Judah, but Yahweh is the one who executes the return of Judah within the context of the new covenant in which the return seems closely related to the restoration of the land.[212]

(c) Social Contours of Sin, Propensity to Evil, Its Ideological Use and Evil as Suffering

Despite Jeremiah's evident emphasis on the association of the divine judgement with the people's apostasy, there are occasions when the book also addresses their wrongdoings more broadly including other topics as part of the cause of such a punishment. Particularly the issue of social justice seems to be one that stands out since some cases do suggest that רעה/רע covers actions not confined to the worship of

[208] Ibid., 206.
[209] Reimer, *Oracles*, 190-91.
[210] Jeremiah Unterman, *From Repentance to Redemption: Jeremiah's Thought in Transition*, JSOT Sup 54 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 11.
[211] J. G. McConville, *Judgment and Promise: An Interpretation of the Book of Jeremiah* (Leicester and Winona Lake, IN: Apollos and Eisenbrauns, 1993), 40-41.
[212] McConville, *Judgment*, 40-41.

other gods (e.g., Jer 5:28; 6:7), but allowing a dialogue with social issues, as the phrase אם־עשו תעשו משפט בין איש ובין רעהו suggests (cf. Jer 7:5-6, 9, 11 with some variation in 21:12).[213] In this matter, Gottwald argues that most prophetical writings portray a common ideology, which presents a fairly cogent belief system correlating with the circumstances of specific groups, building awareness of the real conditions. The implementation of such a worldview, however, might not always be practical, and therefore, be considered as some form of radicalisation.[214] The prophets fit well within this category because they emerge denouncing abusive practices, and at times, their attitude faces strong resistance, if not marginalisation since their message tends to threaten the ruling class status quo.[215] Such a critique seems evident in the use of the term חמס alongside משפט and צדקה (cf. Jer 22:3) referring to neglecting justice and violent abuses to the defenceless.[216] Weinfeld observes that the notion of social justice was expressed in both the OT/HB and the ANE using hendiadys in which its most popular biblical example is probably the word pair משפט וצדקה (e.g., Isa 11:4; 33:15; 45:19; Psa 9:9; 58:2; 98:9) adding that not only was this notion considered as a divine trace conceded to the monarchs to exercise justice (e.g., Psa 72:1-2), but also a social ideal working closely with the notion of חסד (e.g., Isa 16:5).[217] Yet Weinfeld notices that משפט וצדקה have a practical application especially when the pair is accompanied by דרך (e.g., Gen 18:19), suggesting that this notion also reflects a way of life.[218]

[213] Walter J. Houston, *Contending for Justice: Ideologies and Theologies of Social Justice in the Old Testament* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 81-82, 84.
[214] Norman K. Gottwald, *Social Justice and the Hebrew Bible*, vol. 1, CLBSJ (Eugene: OR: Cascade Books, 2016), 60-72.
[215] Gottwald, *Social*, 60-72.
[216] See חמס in *HAL* 329; *DCH* 3:256.
[217] Moshe Weinfeld, *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (Jerusalem and Minneapolis, MN: The Magness and Fortress Press, 1995), 25.
[218] Weinfeld, *Social*, 27-32.

Ricoeur's view on the human condition might be insightful to understand the human inclination towards evil. The core of his argument on the human condition is based on his *Philosophie de la Volonté* where he analyses the experience of being human in depth claiming that human existence is marked by making decisions, which is essentially a form of judgement.[219] Dealing with the issue of human freedom, Ricoeur describes 'le volontaire' and the 'l'involontaire', which instead of being a polar relationship, appear as complementary dimensions of human existence.[220] Such supplementary relations can be observed through a phenomenological report in the triple framework that characterises the voluntary ('décider', 'choix' and 'agir') alongside the individual's unavoidable 'consentement' to 'l'involontaire', as something that is worked through 'la spontanéité corporelle' because it is only through such an embodiement that someone's actions can be expressed; nevertheless, such attributes present no harmony between them since they are essentially just a finite liberty and the conflict generated by the friction between voluntary and the involuntary results in a delicate solution of a struggle, which determines 'une liberté seulement humaine'.[221] Whilst such a conflict, to some extent, resembles Kierkegaard's view on the human response to freedom,[222] Ricoeur's perception regarding the human condition is similar to Hick's notion of 'epistemic distance',[223] as Ricoeur's use of 'déduction transcedentale' to address 'la possibilité du mal moral' inherent in the composition of mankind suggests that the human condition is characterised by its limitation, which reflects 'du rapport

[219] Paul Ricoeur, *Philosophie de la Volonté: 1. Le Volontaire et L'Involontaire* (Paris: Éditions Points, 2009), 177-243.
[220] Ricoeur, *Volontaire*, 20-25.
[221] Ibid., 601-606.
[222] Kierkegaard, *Angest*, 41-47.
[223] Hick, *Evil*, 280-91.

disproportionné de finitude à l'infini' where such limitation equals 'faillibilité'.[224]

Some cases in Jeremiah where רע is combined with לבם (e.g., Jer 3:17; 7:24; 11:8; 16:12; 18:12), however, suggest that the source of the people's wrongdoing has a deeper explanation working almost as an inner force especially if one interprets לב in the sense of *Willensentschluß*, as it can happen sometimes with the terms רוח and נפש.[225] Such an understanding seems close to the rabbinical notion of יצר רעה in which לב is associated with the inner thoughts or desires instead of internal organs.[226] Böhmer, Bozak and McConville have understood Jeremiah 30–31 as a divine salvation breaking in through some form of intervention in which the people's heart will be transformed in a way that the relationship between Yahweh and his people will be re-stablished.[227]

In many cases, however, the term רעה/רע appears just in contrast to טובה/טוב (e.g., Jer 4:22; 18:20), in such cases the context where these disparities are inserted might reveal something else. For instance, Jer 21:10; 44:27, 29 refer to the disaster of falling into the hands of the Babylonians while Jer 40:4; 42:6; 49:23 seem more likely to be something unpleasant as opposed to a pleasant experience. However, as previously mentioned with references to Chan and Spinoza, the term evil has been used in the rhetoric of political discourses and there with some degree of subjectivity in terms of one's construction of what

[224] Paul Ricoeur, *Philosophie de la Volonté: Finitude et Culpabilité. L'Homme Faillible*, vol. 1, PE (Paris: Aubier – Éditions Montaigne, 1960), 150-62; Hick, *Evil*, 280-91.
[225] See *lēb(ā)* as *Willensentschluß* in Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropologie des Alten Testaments* (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1973), 84-89.
[226] F. C. Porter, 'The Yeçer Hara: A Study in the Jewish Doctrine of Sin', in *Biblical and Semitic Studies: Critical and Historical Essays by the Members of the Semitic and Biblical Faculty of Yale University* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons and Edward Arnold, 1901), 108-11; S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1909), 258-63.
[227] Böhmer, *Heimkehr*, 109; Barbara A. Bozak, *Life 'Anew': A Literary-Theological Study of Jer. 30–31*, AB 122 (Roma: Editrice Pontifico Istituto Biblico, 1991), 10 and McConville, *Judgment,* 174-75.

constitutes good and bad in antagonism to rival groups.[228] Such an ideological use can also be found in Jeremiah, as the perspective of the exiles indicates. The context of Jeremiah 24 and 40–41 clarifies that the vision of the good figs in contrast with the bad ones alongside the emphasis on submission to the Babylonian appointee reflect those approved and reproved by Yahweh. As discussed in the previous chapter, Pohlmann has argued for the use of Deuteronomistic-like language in favour of the Judean-golah, which others, such as Sharp and Rom-Shiloni have also recognised.[229] Plant also acknowledges the presence of a polarity which he calls judicial differentiation, but he argues there are some variations based on different rationales due to its multifaced nature.[230]

Such favouritism towards the Babylonian exiles in Jeremiah, however, might give the impression that such a process of forced displacement was not as traumatic as it appears to be if compared to the brutality of the former Assyrian empire. In the *Myth of the Empty Land* Barstad argues that the exile involved mainly the elite, but life was normalised after a short disruption amongst the remaining population.[231] Soggin even implies a positive treatment towards the exile in Babylon, which probably contributed to the production of a significant amount of the biblical material alongside the development of customs and traditions (e.g., circumcision and the Sabbath) with the goal of preserving the identity of the exiles.[232] Still, even though certain portions of Jeremiah show support to the exiles in Babylon, this

[228] Chan, *Out*, 3-34; Spinoza, *Ethica*, 4:26-27.
[229] Pohlmann, *Studien*,183-90; Sharp, *Prophecy*, 157-58; Rom-Shiloni, 'Group', 17-24.
[230] R. J. R. Plant, *Good Figs, Bad Figs: Judicial Differentiation in the Book of Jeremiah*, LHBOTS 483 (New York and London: T&T Clark, 2008), 186-88.
[231] Hans M. Barstad, *The Myth of the Empty Land: A Study in the History and Archaeology of Judah During the "Exilic" Period*, SOFSup 28 (Stockholm: Scandinavian University Press, 1996), 80.
[232] J. Alberto Soggin, *Storia D'Israele: Introduzione alla Storia d'Israele e Giuda dalle Origini ala Rivolta di Bar Kochbà*, BCR 2nd ed. (Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 2002), 326-28.

positive impression does not necessarily reproduce the sentiments of those under such circumstances, as the absence or reduced number of violent protests should not be equated to consenting feelings from those who have been colonised since they were no longer an independent nation.[233] The level of theological reflection as a response to a such a serious crisis is something that should not be understated,[234] although it is true that one might find different reactions to the exile. Some texts (Jer 31:29; Ezek 18:2; Psa 44:17-18; 79:8) suggest that not everyone considered themselves responsible for provoking Yahweh's anger and claim innocence whilst blaming others, (e.g., their fathers, kings, apostates).[235] One interesting aspect, however, is the possible setting of the genre of laments within the exilic context.[236] Two Hebrew roots (און and עמל), which sometimes occur alongside רעע with the sense of suffering[237] appear in Jer 4:15 and 20:18. Whereas the root און in 4:15

[233] Smith-Christopher uses insights from migration/refugees' studies alongside postcolonial theory to assess the view from the exiles, arguing that in many cases protests are expressed subversively cf. Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, *A Biblical Theology of Exile*, OBT (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002), 27-73.

[234] For Klein, the exile ultimately implied that Yahweh lost the battle against the other deities, raising serious questions in terms of the faith of those who faced such a disastrous event cf. Ralph W. Klein, *Israel in Exile: A Theological Interpretation*, OBT (Philadelphia, PA1979: Fortress Press, 1979), 1-8. Albertz even claims that without the exile monotheism would not have come into existence through a theological reflection of Israel's history cf. Rainer Albertz, *Die Exilszeit* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer GmbH, 2001), 435-45.

[235] Klein, *Exile*, 6-8. As reported by Joo, the fact that some denied their own responsibility for such a disaster suggests that this was not a unanimous view, which explains why the Jeremiah's writers dedicate significant efforts to convince them of their culpability cf. Joo, *Provocation*, 2-3.

[236] Klein suggests that the language of grief and sorrow employed by the writer of Lamentations is familiar with the disaster of 587 BCE, but such an emotional load even leads the author to blame God for his suffering to the point of calling him his enemy Klein, *Exile*, 22. According to Albertz, the disaster of the exile offered Israel the chance to reflect about its past theologically throughout a long process in which the worship started with confessions and laments cf. Albertz, *Exilszeit*, 436. Particularly in the book of Lamentations, Middlemas proposes its origin from the templeless Judah, as it provides a rich description of human suffering alongside uncertain questions about the future, reflections about the impact of sin and the importance of verbalising pain cf. Jill Middlemas, *The Troubles of Templess Judah*, OTM (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 171-228.

[237] Whereas און allows scope for suffering, the fundamental meaning of עמל is restricted to labour or tiring work. Despite its ethical meanings, און is also employed referring to various aspects of suffering, which may have resulted from different situations, such as physical suffering (e.g., Job 5:6) as well as physical frailty (e.g.,

suggests something along the lines of misfortune, עמל appears in 20:18 next to ויגון. It is interesting, however, that both און and עמל appear within Jeremiah's texts that feature the genre of laments.[238] In Diamond's view, these 'confessions serve a distinctly apologetic purpose of constructing a theodicy of Yahweh's judgement upon Judah'.[239] According to O'Connor, the new literary context of the confession within Jeremiah 1–25 provides an expanded response to the issue of God's justice, where the redactors use the original theme of theodicy in a reverse manner to illustrate why the curse against the nation had to be enacted'.[240] She adds that 'in the Fall of the nation, Yahweh appears as the executor of the people's suffering, but it is the people who are responsible' since 'they refuse to listen to the word of Yahweh and bring the curse upon themselves'.[241]

3.4. Conclusion

As previously mentioned, the term theodicy is a feature of theology which attempts to justify God in face of evil in the world, but since the term is closer to the fields of philosophy of religion and systematic theology, its use must be detached from classical theism and considered

Psa 90:10). The root also appears within the context of deep sadness (e.g., Hos 9:4) alongside consequence of sin (e.g., Isa 10:1) and deception (e.g., Job 36:21) cf. *HAL* 22; *DCH* 1:154-155. The root עמל, however, appears as hard work and weariness (e.g., Job 7:3), frustrating labour (e.g., Eccl 1:3), suffering or affliction (e.g., Gen 41:51) and trouble caused by others (e.g., Psa 94:20) cf. *HAL* 845; *DCH* 6:481-483.

[238] Whilst Baumgartner argues that the historical Jeremiah adapted psalms of lament to express his own agony cf. Walter Baumgartner, *Die Klagegedichte des Jeremia*, BZAW 32 (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1917), Reventlow claims that the figure of the prophet works as a representative of the community interceding on its behalf, which dismisses the need of any biographical reading bringing the laments within the liturgic context cf. Henning Graf Reventlow, *Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn and Gesamtherstellung, 1963), 24, 94-120, 174, 209.

[239] A. R. Diamond, *The Confessions of Jeremiah in Context: Scenes of Prophetic Drama*, JSOTS 45 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 189.

[240] Kathleen M. O'Connor, *The Confessions of Jeremiah: Their Interpretation and Role in Chapters 1–25*, SBL 94 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 1988), 160.

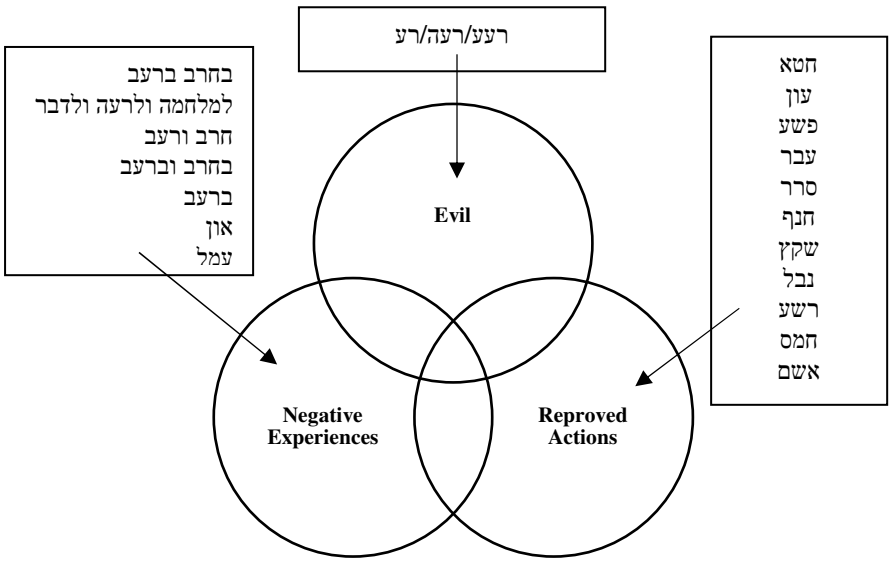
[241] O'Connor, *Confessions,* 160.

in the light of the milieu where the OT/HB was produced. Within this context, plurality of gods and physical representation of deities are widespread, including Israel's God, which can be attested by external evidence and some traces left in biblical texts as well; nevertheless, one can still observe a conscious move towards some form of evolving monotheism where Yahweh ascended as the God of Israel whilst other deities had their status changed to demon-like figures and Israel/Judah (or the cities of Samaria/Jerusalem) became Yahweh's wife;[242] furthermore, within such a complex process the portrayal of the deity was also embargoed.

Another crucial aspect of the subject of theodicy concerns the theme of evil, which, like theodicy itself, is a contentious one. The rich debate in different fields offers insightful contribution to the interpretation of evil in the OT/HB in which emic and etic perspectives do not need to be rigidly dichotomised as long as it is made clear when and how these categories are being used. One of Ricoeur's contributions to reflection on evil is the awareness that the term evil refers to wide range of negative experiences. Such a cluster of diverse negative experiences manifests 'de manière multiple la condition humaine dans son unite profonde', which is part of the field of the 'herméneutique des symbols et de mythes' since it provides 'la première mediation langagière à une experience confuse et muette'.[243] This deep unity is even clearer when one faces the difficulty of establishing borders between distinctive experiences (for instance, being victims and feeling guilty; suffering and punishment).[244] Jeremiah, as it stands in the *BHS*, reflects a microcosm of such diversity in the OT/HB in which various dimensions of evil are significantly entangled. This convolution raises

[242] See Thomas C. Römer, 'Yhwh, the Goddess and Evil: Is "Monotheism" an Adequate Concept to Describe the Hebrew Bible's Discourses about the God of Israel?', *Verbum Eccles* 34 (2013):1-5; —, *L'Invention de Dieu* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2014), 277-32.
[243] Ricoeur, *Mal*, 24-25.
[244] Ibid., 25-26.

significant problems for a strict division between natural and moral evils, raising serious challenges to classical theism, as the deity here is often the one responsible for the disaster. As the foregoing discussion attempts to demonstrate, there are different dimensions of evil in Jeremiah, which can essentially be divided into negative experiences (particularly that of disaster caused by war and its aftermath) and reproved actions or people (offenses against the deity and those involved with social issues). These distinctive perspectives, however, are at times significantly intertwined, as illustrated in the diagram below.



Nonetheless, Ricoeur's thoughts still need to be refined with the findings of OT/HB scholarship or other fields, such as Klawans' distinction between 'ritual and moral' defilement, alongside the fact that both are somewhat subjected to some form of divine specification. Furthermore, it is important to stress that instead of allegorizing, where an element is translated into its correspondent, or providing a historical account of the development of the symbolisms of evil, Ricoeur's goal is to assess the symbols phenomenologically shifting from hermeneutics of text to lived experience. On this matter, Childs argues that the demythologisation process reflects historical Israel's

understanding of its own religious experience of reality.[245] In my own judgement, however, I shall argue that the event of the exile triggered a creative compositional process where discussion of distinctive aspects of evil was incorporated in theological reflection about such a traumatic experience.

[245] Childs, *Myth,* 95-97.

4. Methodology

The methodology adopted in this project follows the standard methods of biblical criticism, employing disciplines, such as textual criticism and form criticism, and the insights of linguistics and the study of intertextuality in the attempt to reconstruct the redactional history of Jeremiah 2–6. Since the focus here is a literary and theological study of these five chapters and not the historical investigation of ancient Israel and Judah, the destruction of Jerusalem is taken as the catalyst for the creation of this composition without extended discussion of historical issues.

As discussed earlier, the term 'theodicy' is employed in the attempt to justify God's activity alongside the presence of evil in the world. The use of this terminology in Jeremiah may be vindicated on two grounds: Jeremiah's reception history and the book's own content. Whilst the former attests a strong identification of the reader's experience of suffering with the story told by the book, the latter attempts to interpret Judah's own experience of the exile in response to questions concerning the people's faith in the face of such a traumatic event. Jeremiah 2–6, in particular, present a composition where different dimensions of evil, such as disaster, moral aspects and suffering, are interlaced in a polemical discourse in which Judah's apostasy is addressed as the cause of the fall of the capital. The reader's understanding, however, does not necessarily comprehend fully the writer's exact understanding about the dynamics between God and evil, nor does the reality described by the text correspond exactly with the external one; additionally, as texts were recycled to serve changing socio historical circumstances, their meanings were also transformed.

4.1. Emic and Etic Perspectives

Weber correctly pointed out that proposals to resolve the issue of theodicy are intimately related to one's perception of God in relation to

the ideas of sin and salvation.[1] Moreover, Ricoeur rightly observed that the main obstacles faced by both theologians and philosophers are incidental to the logic of non-contradiction combined with a systematic totalisation. His reservation against such a frame of mind is based on the fact that this rationale does not take into account that the term evil has been frequently employed in Jewish and Christian traditions to address a broad spectrum of negative experiences.[2] Some issues, however, emerge when one notices that the OT/HB is far from systematic, at least according to Western standards, added to the fact that the milieu of Yahwism, in which these texts were written, reflects a considerable religious plurality where deities were richly represented by both anthropomorphic and theriomorphic images. By way of contrast, theistic perspectives from monotheistic faiths, such as Judaism and Christianity, tend to read this body of text conditioned to a particular coherent system in which a highly transcendental and formless entity is part of it. Such dissimilarity certainly influences one's perception of theodicy and how the OT/HB will be read. Behind this clash lies the conflict between emic and etic prospects, although both outlooks are by no means necessarily mutually exclusive, as any data is still subject to the observer's interpretation and, consequently, emic and etic approaches can be used as complementary dimensions. Gadamer's notion of *Horizontverschmelzung* well-illustrates the supplementary roles of these two perspectives.[3] It is, therefore, no coincidence that even a modern commentator, such as Duhm, at some point made use of his own cultural Lutheran legacy as means to explain ancient biblical texts, such as Jeremiah, to his contemporaries.[4] Methodologically, however, it is important to signal to the reader clearly in advance which perspective corresponds with emic and etic as well as when and how they are being used. In this study an emic viewpoint refers to the ANE background whilst an etic standpoint

[1] Weber, *Grundriss*, 297.
[2] Ricoeur, *Mal*, 19-26.
[3] Gadamer, *Wahrheit*, 305-11.
[4] Duhm, *Buch*, 56.

concerns the modern world and will be used with hermeneutical sophistication.

4.2. Ancient Israel's and Judah's Religious Literary Experience

Theodicy, as discussed earlier, is a branch of theology, which is by nature largely hermeneutical, and has close proximity to the domains of philosophy of religion and systematic theology. Ricoeur's project aimed to develop a philosophy of the religious conscience; not only did his contribution make us aware of the highly speculative nature of the Leibnizian theodicy in which religious language was combined with a radical explanation of the genesis of things that preceded Kantian metaphysics, but it also observed distinctions between different spheres of evil in which the human condition is manifested.[5] Pertinent biblical traditions were used in Ricoeur's reflection on the problem of evil, but his contribution was restrictively phenomenological, as his goal was never to provide a literary study nor a history of composition of biblical texts. The main issue with that is the fact that the scribes' pen cannot be simply bypassed, as one has no direct access to the religious lived experience of ancient Israel and Judah except through its literary heritage. Accordingly, the initial contact one has is not with the external reality in which both ancient kingdoms existed, but with their religious experience mediated by the text instead.[6] On this matter, Barton's definition of plain sense as a reference to 'semantic or linguistic and a literary operation first and foremost, only indirectly concerned with the original, the intended, the historical, or the literal meaning'[7] is instructive for the student of biblical texts. Thereby, references concerning the history of ancient Israel and Judah will be

[5] Ricoeur, *Mal*, 19-25; —, *Symbolique*, 11-17.
[6] As Geller properly states the accounts described in the biblical texts do not reflect a factual picture of ancient Israel's and Judah's beliefs and practices cf. Geller, *Sacred*, 1-6.
[7] Barton, *Nature*, 101.

made only occasionally. As mentioned earlier, the overall context of Jeremiah 2–6 taken here is from the Babylonian conquest onwards.

4.3. Textual Criticism

However obvious it might sound, the study of biblical texts should start with their current form, as this is the first contact the reader has. As stated by Barr, however, even a synchronic form of the text (i.e., its alleged 'final form'), is always situated within a social-historical context.[8] Nevertheless, after the findings of the DSS things got more complicated, as it became clearer that from a very early stage there were several 'originals' or 'final forms' of biblical texts in circulation. As mentioned in chapter 2, the text of Jeremiah survived in two versions (Hebrew and Greek), differing in terms of length and organisation. According to Brooke, 6 fragments found in Qumran, dating between 300 BCE and 100 CE, resemble both versions of Jeremiah.[9] Since such evidence strongly indicates that Jeremiah still did not reach a fixed form during the Second Temple period, the term 'final form' will also be avoided here and, alternatively, this study will refer to the so-called 'final forms' nominally, i.e., 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah.

As a matter of fact, even now biblical texts undergo changes even if such modifications are only subtle. On this matter, Tov draws attention to the fact that all printed critical editions are mostly based on medieval manuscripts, which differ from each other, and in many cases the way the information is displayed reflects the editors' criteria, such as the order of the books, division of the chapters, presentation of the text (different layouts for prose and poetry) and verse division. Sometimes they may even contain some mistakes.[10] Accordingly, there was never one single version but diverse coexisting textual traditions instead. This plurality possibly reflects the presence of different streams of Judaism,

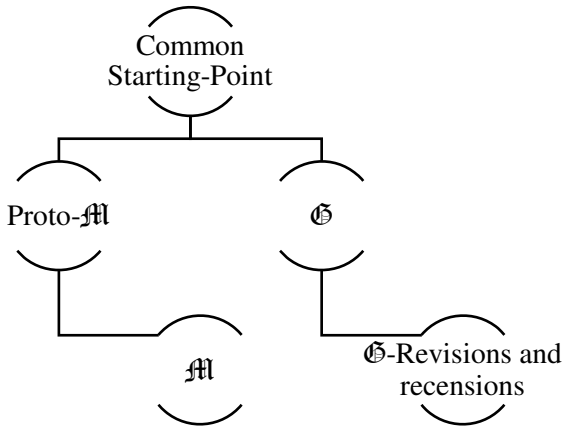
[8] Barr, 'Synchronic', 5.
[9] Brooke, 'Book', 184-87.
[10] Tov, *Textual*, 13-17.

or 'Judaisms' using Neusner's coinage, during the Second Temple period.[11] Not only did each version have an authoritative status in its respective community before the standardisation of the Masoretic text much later, but sometimes it also served particular theological interests.[12]

A short note on 𝔊, OG and the *Quinta* edition may be necessary to avoid confusion. Whilst some scholars restrict the term 𝔊 or LXX to the translation of the Pentateuch using the term OG to refer to other complete Graeco-Jewish works, others use 𝔊 more broadly including both the Pentateuch and other Graeco-Jewish writings.[13] The definition of 𝔊 here follows the orientation of the IOSCS, covering ancient translations of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek (including the Pentateuch alongside other writings belonging to the Alexandrian canon), where the inclusion of the expression 'cognate' aims to consider ancient translations derived from 𝔊 alongside those collections so-called apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, which were available within the same period.[14] In addition, since the *Quinta* edition is still work in progress and unfortunately the correspondent fascicle for Jeremiah edited by Weiss is not available yet, the critical editions adopted in his research will be the *BHS* and the Ziegler's reconstruction of 𝔊 available in the *GE*.

[11] Sacchi, *Storia*, 282; Boccaccini, *Middle*, 18-25; J. Neusner, 'Preface' to *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era*, eds. J. Neusner, W. S. Green and E. S. Frerichs (Syndicate of the University of Cambridge: Cambridge, 1987), ix. Within Palestinian Judaism, there were various groups, such as the Essenes, Sadducees, Pharisees, the scribes, the Qumran community and the apocalyptic authors. Despite some differences, they also share some points in common and it is likely that these groups originated from the returnees from the exile after Cyrus' decree in 539 BCE cf. Martin McNamara, *Palestinian Judaism and the New Testament*, GNS 4 (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1983), 45-50. Amongst the Jews from the diaspora, there were several communities in Egypt and the Mediterranean sites, such as Cyrenaica and Syria as well as the province of Asia, who were bound by their ethnical and religious culture cf. John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE 1996– 117 CE)* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1996), 442-44.
[12] Mulder, 'Transmission', 103-104; Talmon, 'Old', 159-64; Schenker, 'Est-ce', 58-74; Ulrich 'Evolutionary', 210; Sæbø, *Way*, 36-46; Martin, *Multiple*, 265-70.
[13] *ABD* 5:1093.
[14] 'IOSCS', http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/

Since both 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah are now autonomous entities, in theory both versions should first be segmented and assessed in parallel before moving on to the comparison between them. The evaluation of the nature of the relationship between the two versions, however, has its own challenges. As Curtis and Römer precisely observe, Jeremiah's reception history began before the book reached its later literary stage.[15] As such, both versions arguably developed from a common starting point, which according to Tov, this point of departure was not simply a mere draft of what eventually would turn into the final product but it was in fact the 'final' product itself existing at some point in history.[16] After this point there was a bifurcation where one branch continued growing, attracting more preference later and it eventually turned into 𝔐-Jeremia.[17] By contrast, the other branch did not grow to the same length,[18] but was translated into Greek, which in due course went through different revisions and recensions, such as the Kaige, Theodotion, Aquila, Symmachus revisions and the Hesychian, Hexaplaric and the Lucianic recensions.[19]



The retroversion of 𝔊-Jeremiah with the goal of reconstructing its *Vorlage* followed by a comparison against 𝔐-Jeremiah might provide

[15] A. H. W. Curtis and T. Römer, 'Introduction' to *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception,* ed. A. H. W. Curtis and T. Römer, BETL 128 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 11.
[16] Tov, *Textual*, 165-67.
[17] Ibid., 165-67.
[18] Shead, *Open*, 255-63.
[19] Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 80-105.

some clues about whether it reflects a different layer or the translator's exegesis. The principles for the retroversion employed in this study will be based mostly on the contribution made by Tov, Stipp and Olofsson.[20]

The subtraction of the reconstructed *Vorlage* from 𝔐-Jeremiah, however, is not to be confused with the quest for the *Urtext* in the same fashion of early textual critics nor is it to be claimed that 𝔐-Jeremiah is a direct descendent of the *Vorlage* of 𝔊-Jeremiah.[21] This exercise is only an attempt to identify different literary stages. As the goal here is just to identify different layers in Jeremiah, none of the versions will be given priority; thereby, the term 'original' will be avoided and terms, such as 'previous or former literary stage or phase' will be employed in contrast to 'later literary stage or phase' instead. Although it is true that 𝔊-Jeremiah was not exempt of processes of revision and recension after its translation took place, there will be no attempt to reconstruct 'original' 𝔊-Jeremiah here, as this task has already been competently accomplished by Ziegler's *GE*.

Whilst the borders between redaction and reception history are relatively easier to discern on the branch of 𝔊-Jeremiah due to the linguistic aspect which clearly indicates division between them, such frontiers are harder to distinguish in the ramification of 𝔐-Jeremiah. Unlike Ezekiel, which incorporated elements from Pseudo-Ezekiel in its Masoretic text,[22] such boundaries are not so evident in the relationship between 𝔊- and 𝔐-Jeremiah, as the expansions in the

[20] Tov, 'Exegetical', 73-93; —, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 3rd ed. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015); Stipp, *masoretische*; Staffan Olofsson, *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis: Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 28-49.

[21] As Mizrahi argues, one should not claim an immediate affiliation of 𝔐-Jeremiah from the *Vorlage* behind 𝔊-Jeremiah because other intermediate stages between the *Vorlage* and the Masoretic text might be missing cf. Noam Mizrahi, *Witnessing a Prophetic Text in the Making: The Literary, Textual and Linguistic Development of Jeremiah 10:1-16*, BZAW 502 (Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2017), 9-10.

[22] Mladen Popović, 'Authoritativeness of Ezekiel Traditions in Early Judaism', in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović, JSJ Sup. 141. Leiden: Brill, 2010), 227-51.

Hebrew text derived mostly from the book itself.[23] On the other hand, the distinction between redaction and reception history are weakened when the retroversion is applied to the Greek version. Still, another potential issue concerns the characteristics of the relationship involved between the *Vorlage* of 𝔊- and 𝔐-Jeremiah. In this regard, Williamson has criticised the elastic use of the term 'redaction' in reference to any addition to an existing text and differentiates it from something like *Fortschreibung* on the grounds that redaction involves completely rewriting the work whilst the latter comprises only modest insertions.[24] Within such distinctions, proposals of two editions of Jeremiah corresponding with the Greek and Hebrew suggested by Tov and Bogaert[25] would not be considered as proper redaction in Williamson's terms but something along the lines of *Fortschreibung* which seems in accordance with McKane's rolling corpus instead, as he rejects a planned redaction of the book.[26] Whilst these differences are good guiding principles to explain different phenomena like the expansions from 𝔊- to 𝔐-Jeremiah and their different organisation, Van Der Toorn believes that it is unlikely that such boundaries were clearly defined in the scribal culture.[27] Even Zimmerli, who coined the term *Fortschreibung*, admits that a whole redactional process cannot be separated from the act of updating and subsequent interpretation of independent units, although he does recognise that those passages inserted at specific points breaking up previous links are part of a late stage of the editorial process.[28] Stulman's remarks observe two points. Firstly, the Deuteronomistic stratum is already present in the Greek version. Secondly, the Masoretic expansions seem less Deuteronomistic than the Deuteronomistic layer and they tend to favour the Babylonian exiles with a focus on the remnants.[29] Based on

[23] Tov, 'Aspects', 145-67.
[24] Williamson, 'Redaction', 26-34.
[25] Tov, 'Aspects', 145-67; Bogaert, 'Baruch', 168-73.
[26] McKane, Jeremiah, vol 1., lxxxiii-xlix.
[27] Van Der Toorn, *Scribal*, 109-41.
[28] Zimmerli, *Ezechiel 1*, 109-110.
[29] Stulman, *Prose*, 145.

these observations, it is possible to identify two strata from the *Vorlage* of 𝔊- and 𝔐-Jeremiah. One acquainted with the Deuteronomistic theology and another in which this theology was no longer in evidence. As the Masoretic expansions tend to support the remnant, one could make connections with Pohlmann's proposal of Jeremiah's pro-golah redaction.[30] Such a conclusion obviously does not consider other aspects, such as linguistic features, which depending on the linguist point of view can confirm or deny such dating. However, a valid point raised by Schmid contra McKane, is the importance of evaluating such expansions in light of the entire book or sometimes even collections of books, as the full picture reveals the text's new theological meaning.[31] In this sense, the small localised expansions in 𝔐-Jeremiah need to be considered in the light of the book as a whole.

4.4. Form Criticism

At a first glance one may notice that Jeremiah 2–6 is formed by two major parts. Apart from few exceptions, whilst Jer 2:4–4:2 addresses לאיש יהודה וישבי ירושלם. 4:4–6:30 directs בית יעקב וכל־משפחות בית ישראל. Additionally, 2:4-9, in particular, seems a lawsuit whereas 4:19-31 appears a lament. These are only examples of what early form critics would call *Gattungen*, which they would try to classify in different groups according to specific characteristics, and from there, they would try to find their respective *Sitz im Leben*.[32] In this sense, there was a visible enthusiasm amongst form critics, which led them to think that by finding such conventions in the OT/HB, they would have direct access to the religious experience of ancient Israel and Judah.[33]

[30] Pohlmann, *Studien*, 183-90.
[31] Schmid, *Gibt*, 66-67.
[32] Klaus Koch, *Was ist Formgeschichte? Methoden der Bibelexegese*, 4th ed. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 34-36.
[33] Despite reaching opposite conclusions in terms of dating, Gunkel and Mowinckel made extensive use of this method in the psalter cf. *RGG* 4:1623-30; Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship,* transl. D. R. Ap. Thomas (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), 23-41. Such enthusiasm was soon extended beyond the psalms to the prophets in which Westermann divided them into accounts, prophetic speeches,

Although some are still prone to think in this way nowadays,[34] the way in which form criticism operates currently has changed substantially due to an increasing change of perception amongst scholars, who now seem inclined to associate more biblical material as literary phenomenon than it used to be thought in the past. In this respect, Van Der Toorn has associated the making of the OT/HB with the anonymous literati elite, who were affiliated to the Jerusalem temple predominantly from 500 to 200 BCE.[35] Similarly, Ben Zvi argues that the current form of the Pentateuch alongside the prophetic books and what is known as the Deuteronomistic history emerged in a somewhat integrated discourse during the Persian period under the Yehudite elites.[36] More specifically in terms of prophetic literature, against the earlier assumption that prophetic oracles first circulated for some time before being incorporated within the literature at a later stage, Nissinen and Floyd have demonstrated that it did not take a long time for prophetic sayings to be written down in the ANE as well as ancient Israel and Judah.[37]

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prayers and oracles of salvation cf. Claus Westermann, *Grundformen prophetischer Rede*, 4th ed. BET 31 (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag München, 1971), 64-66; —, *Prophetische Heilsworte im Alten Testament*, FRLANT 145 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 31. Particularly in terms of the prophetic lawsuit, Nielsen argued that Yahweh plays the role of prosecutor and judge in a lawsuit, where the deity is the one offended by the people's breaking of the covenant. The Hittites suzerain–vassal treaties would be the context of such lawsuits in which within prophetic lawsuit, natural elements function as witnesses in the courtroom and the disaster is the punishment foreseen in the covenant cf. Kirsten Nielsen, *Yahweh as Prosecutor and Judge: An Investigation of the Prophetic Lawsuit (Rîb-Pattern)*, JSOTSup 9 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1978), 74-83.

[34] Such a conviction is currently predominant amongst biographically driven approaches discussed in chapter 2.

[35] Van Der Toorn, *Scribal*, 1-2.

[36] Ehud Ben Zvi, 'Towards an Integrative Study of the Production of Authoritative Books in Ancient Israel', in *The Production of Prophecy: Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud*, ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi London and Oakville, CT: Equinox, 2009), 15-28; —, 'The Concept of Prophetic Books and Its Historical Setting', in *The Production of Prophecy: Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud*, ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi London and Oakville, CT: Equinox, 2009), 73-95.

[37] M. Nissinen, 'How Prophecy Became Literature', *SJOT* 19 (2005):153–72; —, 'Das Problem der Prophetenschüler', in *Houses Full of All Good Things: Essays in Memory of Timo Veijola,* ed. J. Pakkala and M. Nissinen, SESJ 95 (Helsinki: Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 337–353; M. H. Floyd, 'Traces of Tradition in Zechariah 1–8: A Case-Study', in *Tradition in Transition. Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 in the Trajectory*

To some extent, some changes in relation to form criticism already occurred with the rise of redaction criticism led by Von Rad and Noth, as both payed careful attention on how ancient traditions were reshaped by the redactors, moving from an atomistic approach to a more organic direction.[38] In this sense, Campbell seems right in arguing that whereas early form critics emphasised small units, there is an increasing interest in its application to the text in its integrity.[39] As briefly mentioned, since 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah are now available autonomously, the process of recognition of genre and conventions of Jeremiah 2–6 will first be applied in both versions as a whole independently in order to establish their unit divisions and to identify what aspects of evil appear in each segment. Some of Lundbom's criteria will be taken into account alongside Porter's notion of paragraphs for the segmentations of 𝔐-Jeremiah. Elements, such as chiasmus, the *setumah* (ס) and the *petuḥah* (פ), the presence of inclusion alongside the existence of balancing word patterns, combined with external evidence play an important role in the way Lundbom divides the units in Jeremiah,[40] but they will have to be occasionally adapted to accommodate the characteristics of its Greek counterpart. Porter's study on paragraphs observes that despite areas of disagreements between competing schools of thought, there are common areas, which are insightful for unit divisions, such as the presence of opening and closing temporal or special references, coherence, 'participants, full reference, pronoun and anaphora', 'word order and referential distance', 'topic, 'theme' and 'literary types'.[41]

of Hebrew Theology, ed. M.J. Boda and M.H. Floyd, LHBOTS 475 (New York and London: Continuum International, 2008), 210–34.

[38] Von Rad, 'formgeschichtliche', 37-68; Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche*.

[39] Anthony F. Campbell, 'Form Criticism's Future', in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Marvin A. Sweeney & Ehud Ben Zvi (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), 15-32.

[40] Jack R. Lundbom, 'Delimitation of Units in the Book of Jeremiah', in *The Impact of Unit Delimitation on Exegesis*, eds. Marjo Korpel, Raymond de Hoop and Stanley Porter, PSWRA 7 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2009), 154-56.

[41] Stanley E. Porter, 'Pericope Marker and the Paragraph: Textual and Linguistic Implications', in *The Impact of Unit Delimitation on Exegesis*, eds. Marjo Korpel, Raymond de Hoop and Stanley Porter, PSWRA 7 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2009), 180-82.

Nonetheless, such recognition ought to be detached from historical conclusions and be considered in literary terms instead. On this matter, both Blum and Weeks have challenged such associations. Not only did Blum question the subjective criteria in terms of the genre classification based on its appearance and substance, but he also disputed the use of these standards for the historical reconstruction of texts.[42] Weeks, likewise, also queries conclusions deduced from the text pre-literary history largely associated with the oral tradition alongside the early notion of form. Despite the crystallisation of some particular forms, others still occur with visible flexibility appearing in different situations. Such classifications might just reflect one's own imposition, which does not necessarily represent the writers' view. Whilst dealing with genre and conventions is necessary, form criticism should be exclusively a literary and not a historical task.[43] The change to a more literary focus was, perhaps, influenced by Muilenburg's call for a complementation of form criticism with rhetorical criticism,[44] which has resulted in further ramifications, such as attention to the major structure in which biblical texts are arranged alongside the importance of the reader in their interpretation.[45] Such new vistas have been incorporated in Melugin's alternative route, which employs readers' response criticism alongside sensitive attention to aesthetical features in the text to reconstruct its fictive sociohistorical ambient. Instead of arguing for subjectivity where any reading is acceptable, his point is to raise awareness that readers are not passive. He believes that in some cases the world of the reader can inform biblical interpretation.[46]

[42] Erhard Blum, '*Formgeschichte* – A Misleading Category? Some Critical Remarks', in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Marvin A. Sweeney & Ehud Ben Zvi (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), 32-46.
[43] Stuarts Week, 'Form Criticism', in *Biblical Interpretation and Method: Essays in Honour of John Barton*, ed. Katharine J. Dell & Paul M. Joyce (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 15-21.
[44] Muilenburg, 'Form', 1-18.
[45] Joan E. Cook, 'Beyond "Form Criticism and Beyond': James Muilenburg's Influence on a Generation of Biblical Scholars', *Proceedings EGL & MWBS* 17 (1997):19-25.
[46] Roy F. Melugin, 'Recent Form Criticism Revisited in an Age of Reader Response', in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Marvin

Although this argument is not new, it is a good reminder of Gadamer's awareness in terms of the influence interpreters have in the process of construction of history.[47] This is an important point in terms of moral judgments, particularly in terms of how evil has been articulated in recent modern history stigmatising those against a particular ideology.[48] Despite the fact that Glanz's approach is not restricted to form criticism, it still provides critical insights against past reconstruction of Jeremiah's compositional history mostly based on diachronic preferences. However, Glanz argues that when evidence concerning participant-reference shift is confronted against ancient translations, it reveals that a great deal of these reconstructions involves the interpreters' predisposition in judging inconsistency as criteria for editorial activity. Additionally, he criticises the harmonising tendencies in many modern translations because it neutralises the reader's engagement in the hermeneutical process.[49]

4.5. Linguistics & Intertextuality

Language of course is a vital aspect of all literature. Although De Saussure acknowledged both diachronic and synchronic aspects in language, the diachronic facet was something secondary in his hierarchal scheme.[50] Yet language variation depends on temporal and geographical factors, which is something relatively easy to observe in contemporary languages; however, the situation is more complex when dealing with a dead language.

Like textual criticism and form criticism, there was a time when scholars were confident in identifying the development of biblical Hebrew language dividing it into early/classical and late biblical

A. Sweeney & Ehud Ben Zvi (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), 46-64.
[47] Gadamer, *Wahrheit*, 281.
[48] Chan, *Out*, 3-34; Spinoza, *Ethica*, 4:26-27.
[49] Oliver Glanz, *Understanding Participant-Reference Shifts in the Book of Jeremiah: A Study of Exegetical Method and Its Consequences for the Interpretation of Referential Incoherence*, SSN 60 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), 343-53.
[50] De Saussure, *Cours*, 119-20.

Hebrew (EBH/CBH and LBH).[51] This tradition still stands alive nowadays amongst scholars like Joosten, who argues that linguistic changes can occur in various ways, such as different grammatical constructions and the presence of new vocabulary influenced by other cultures (e.g., occurrences of Aramaic terms).[52] He recognises that this does not stop the possibility of a later author adopting a certain literary style, but consistency usually ends up being a determining factor to establish whether the text is using a particular language as a literary device or if it really reflects the period of the language.[53] Whilst comparison between biblical texts and inscriptions from the 8th to the 6th century BCE offers some clues for dating certain texts, the lack of consistency in the Damascus document denounces the use of archaisms as a literary style.[54] Particularly in terms of Jeremiah, Joosten identifies postclassical Hebrew from the one present in the rest of the book.[55] Along these lines, Hornkohl accepts the dates for the CBH between the 10th and 6th centuries BCE, but he proposes a transitional biblical Hebrew (TBH), which would have covered from the exile during the 6th century until the restoration period around 450 BCE.[56]

A different direction, however, has been taken by Young and Rezetko, as they suggest that the differences between the so-called EBH/CBH and LBH reflect distinctive styles, which coexisted throughout different periods.[57] Kim introduces sociolinguistics with

[51] Wilhem Gesenius, E. Kautzsch and A. E. *Cowley, Gesenius Hebrew Grammar*, transl. A. C., 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), 12-17.
[52] Jan Joosten, 'The Distinction Between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew as Reflected in Syntax', *HS* 46 (2005):327-39.
[53] Id., 'Pseudo-Classicisms in Late Biblical Hebrew', *ZAW* 128 (2016):16-29.
[54] Id., 'Diachronic Linguistics and the Date of the Pentateuch', in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*, ed. Jan Gertz et. al. FAT 111 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 327-44.
[55] Id., 'L'Excédent Massorétique du Livre de Jérémie', in *Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the Hellenistic Period: Proceedings of a Fourth International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, ed. Jan Joosten and Jean-Sébastien Rey, STDJ 73 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 93-108.
[56] Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 46.
[57] Ian Young and Robert Rezetko, *Linguistical Dating of Biblical Text: An Introduction to Approaches and Problems*, with the assistance of Martin Ehrensvärd, vol. 1 (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 361.

the hope to solve the impasse between different lines of interpretations of linguistic data, although he still seems more sympathetic to the diachronic side, acknowledging the importance of the scribal elite in the composition of the biblical writings.[58] Not exactly the same, but still employing sociological references, Stipp has used the distinction between idiolects and sociolects as a criteria for authorship.[59] Nevertheless, despite recognising the importance of linguistics, especially its diachronic route, Schmid has some reservation in terms of the rigid dating of biblical texts resulting from its mechanical application; therefore, he points out many other factors involved (e.g., genre, scribal role, ideology, etc.).[60] In the same manner that certain genres and conventions do not automatically imply specific settings, particular linguistic features do not necessarily reveal exact dates. Linguistic characteristics alone are not sufficient criteria for dating. A combination of factors, therefore, needs to be considered for such a decision.

It is through intertextual comparisons, however, that a great deal of dating of biblical texts followed by its challenges arises, whether via linguistic features or the identification of certain genres and conventions. The close bond between linguistics and literature can be noticed in Kristeva's influence from De Saussure and Bakhtin due to their important roles in linguistics and literary theories.[61] But despite the association of intertextuality with postmodernism alongside its credits often attributed to Kristeva, such a practice can be found much earlier and, to some extent, is not something completely unfamiliar amongst students of the Bible.[62] Carroll, for instance, points out many

[58] Dong-Hyuk Kim, *Early Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew and Linguistic Variability: A Sociolinguistic Evaluation of the Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* VTSup 156 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), 157.
[59] Stipp, 'Sprachliche', 148-86.
[60] Konrad Schmid, 'How to Date the Book of Jeremiah: Combining and Modifying Linguistic- and Profile-Based Approaches', *VT* 68 (2018):444-62.
[61] Kristeva coined the term 'intertextuality' by chance under the influence of de Saussure and Bakhtin cf. Graham Allen, *Intertextuality*, NCI (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 8-60.
[62] Haberer observes that although the term 'intertextuality' is absent amongst modernists, Elliot and Jones seem to use something similar cf. Adolphe Haberer,

examples in which intertextuality is clearly present in biblical studies, such as different forms of canonical readings and the way in which early historical critical approaches operated. More specifically in terms of Jeremiah, he presents several cases of intertextuality, such as the relationship between this prophet, the Deuteronomistic literature, Hosea and Ezekiel, and the presence of doublets. Carroll, however, thinks that intertextuality reinforces his belief about the dead end of the quest for the authors.[63] Another example can be found in Leene's use of intertextuality in the study of newness in prophetic literature where he attempts to establish some level of hierarchical dependence between biblical texts where notions, such as citation, echo, allusion, etc, are employed to determine their connections. However, he does not consider intersections related to linguistics features and jargon sufficient to establish a literary connection. Yet he also adds that there is a hermeneutical element involved, as the use of intertextuality attempts to answer questions raised by other texts.[64] A clear illustration of how other texts can illuminate the interpretation of a specific text can be observed in Carroll's use of subtexts, such as Gen 28:22-23; Jer 15:1-3; Ezekiel 14; Job 9:22-24; Isa 53:11 to illuminate the theme of theodicy in Jer 5:1-6.[65]

The presence of intertextual links, however, also raises questions about whether they happen by chance or if they involve a thoughtful design. Whereas Duhm and McKane were inclined to think along these lines, Schmid has made a case for some form of redaction in Jeremiah.[66] Both views have good grounds for their case. As part of a particular culture individuals can sometimes unconsciously make reference to some elements, although there are instances in which such

'Intertextuality in Theory and Practice', *Lit* 49 (2007):54-67. Fishbane has argued that the presence of inner biblical exegesis also seemed present as early as the monarchical period and it extended beyond biblical times cf. Fishbane, *Biblical*, 525.

[63] Carroll, 'Intertextuality', 55-77.

[64] Henk Leene, *Newness in Old Testament Prophecy: An Intertextual Study* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), 4-8.

[65] Carroll, 'Theodicy', 19-35.

[66] Duhm, *Jeremia*, xx; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, xlix–l; Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 376-81.

intertextual links are part of a planned rhetorical structure. Gordon has proposed an architected use of intertextuality within a frame in the process of creation of meaning, although she recognises that it is not always possible to identify the intentions behind it.[67] Whilst Hildebrandt limits his study to the phenomena of quotations in Jeremiah 2:1–3:5, frames play a fundamental part in his research, as he argues that the relationship between quoted speeches and frame should be the focus instead of isolated quotes.[68]

Nonetheless, the clear diversity in which intertextuality has been used obviously reveals a lack of consistency. Plett has identified three different groups in which two of them (progressives and traditionalists) seem mutually antagonist whilst a third party appears against the whole novelty around intertextuality. The unifying features of the progressives seem a harsh criticism towards orthodoxy and the promotion of a new establishment whereas the traditionalists are characterised by their interest in methodological control and clear terminological definitions. The anti-intertextuality party, however, reacts against the subjectivity amongst the progressives and resists the traditionalists arguing that despite the inexistence of specific intertextual terminologies, intertextuality has been practiced all along.[69] Miller, likewise, has also noticed discrepancies in terms of how intertextuality has been employed amongst biblical scholarship. Although he does not suggest terminological alternatives, the methodological distinction between diachronic and synchronic approaches differs substantially. This is because from the point of view of the former, intertextuality works in a vertical and, maybe, a rigid relationship of dependence, as texts are still at different stages of formation. By contrast, from a synchronic perspective the intertextual

[67] Cynthia Gordon, *Making Meaning, Creating Family: Intertextuality and Framing in Family Interaction* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 189-92.
[68] Samuel Hildebrandt, *Interpreting Quoted Speech in Prophetic Literature: A Study of Jeremiah 2.1–3.5*, VTSup 176 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2017), 212.
[69] Henrich F. Plent, 'Intertextualities', in *Intertextuality*, ed. Henrich F. Plent, RTT 15 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1991), 3-5.

relation is horizontal and, perhaps, more flexible since the texts are already at a developed stage, where they can be read in juxtaposition without much restriction, if any.[70] There are significant philosophical assumptions behind the distinction between these two models. The vertical model, which seems predominant amongst biblical scholars, operates along the old historicist lines whereas the horizontal one works close to Kristeva's proposal, which intended to bring some ideological input with the aim of causing some destabilisation to existing cultural structures.[71] Kynes also identifies the vertical type of intertextuality with diachronic approaches and associates the horizontal model with synchronic perspectives, but he challenges the dichotomisation between these two kinds of intertextuality, arguing that the combination of them can be fruitful, as the horizontal model broadens the hermeneutical possibilities whilst the vertical type provides some control. His focus, however, is on allusions due to the qualitative differences between allusions, quotations and echoes. In his view, quotations are more explicit whilst echoes are implicit, and allusions stand somewhere in between the two.[72]

The associations made by Kynes' between vertical and horizontal intertextualities with diachronic and synchronic approaches are shared in this study, and his reluctance against the dichotomy between them is also worth considering. As it has been argued throughout this project, rigid divisions, such as the dichotomies between emic and etic, subjective or objective genitive theology of the OT/HB, synchronic and diachronic approaches, will be avoided. This also includes the somewhat artificial tripartite division between author-, text- and reader-centred approaches. The reason for such an avoidance is because the borders between these dimensions are not always as fixed

[70] Geoffrey D. Miller, 'Intertextuality in Old Testament Research', *CBR* (2010):283-309.
[71] George Aichele and Gary A. Phillips, 'Introduction: Exegesis, Eisegeses and Intergesis', *Sem* 69/70 (1995):8-12.
[72] Will Kynes, *My Psalm Has Turned Into Weeping: Job's Dialogue with the Psalm,* BZAW 437 (Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2012), 17-33.

as normally claimed due to their points of intersection. The procedure adopted here will follow the same steps mentioned above in terms of form criticism. It will start with the identification of intertextual links in the current form of both versions of Jeremiah followed by a classification of the nature of the intertextual connections. Only after these preliminary steps will there be the attempt of establishing a hierarchical relationship between different texts.

4.6. Conclusion

Summing up, the methodology employed in this study, to a great extent, stands within the classical methods of biblical studies, such as textual criticism, form criticism and the study of linguistic and intertextuality. Nonetheless, as the interpreter is not a passive agent, there will be allowances for some hermeneutical innovations, particularly in terms of ideas concerning evil. To avoid possible confusion, emic will refer to the ANE perspective whilst etic will regard the modern point of view. An important point to consider, however, is the fact that in much of modern criticism, literature and history have been intimately related in different areas of biblical studies, but as stated by Müller, Pakkala and Ter Haar Romeny, empirical data discredit the use of the Masoretic text in isolation for a historical investigation.[73] Indeed the same may be said of exclusive use of the Greek text as well. Although locating biblical texts is a crucial aspect for biblical exegesis, in many cases conclusions regarding dates have been drawn from the biblical data themselves and resulting in some cases in a circularity. These problematic practices were not only evident in the past biblical archaeological movement or biographical approaches, but also amongst early form critics, some current students of linguists and adherents of intertextual approaches. The historical

[73] Reinhard Müller; Juha Pakkala and Bas ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence for Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible*, RBS 75 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2014), 219-220.

aspect of ancient Israel and Judah certainly has great importance for biblical studies and there can be a fruitful interaction between historical and biblical studies, but it is important to make a fundamental distinction between them. The immediate implication of such differentiation is the realisation that the object of study here is not the historical religion of Israel and Judah, but the biblical religion imagined by the scribes in their literary heritage instead. This said, Jeremiah 2–6 also has its own history, but that is its redaction history, which had its beginning with the destruction of Jerusalem. The investigation of the development of these five chapters should start with the evaluation of the nature of the relationship between 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah to determine different literary stages followed by its analysis based on genres, conventions, linguistic and intertextual features. The identification of different genres, conventions, linguistic and intertextual aspects, however, should not be employed mechanically as criteria for specific historical settings, but their role in the study of the redaction history will be used to assess the logical order in which the history of composition might be reconstructed.

5. 'Theodicy' in the Making of Jeremiah 2–6

As previously argued, the terms 'theodicy', 'moral evil' and 'physical/natural evil' are alien concepts to the OT/HB, belonging to the etic (that is the modern reader perspective), but still useful hermeneutical tools to interpret the problem of evil in Jeremiah, as the book wrestles with this issue in its attempt to make sense of the final days of Judah.[1] Despite that Jeremiah 2–6 is a literary unit in its own right, these chapters do not exist in isolation. They are part of the book in its integrity, which according to Gadamer, should be the starting point:

> So läuft die Bewegung des Verstehens stets vom Ganzen zum Teil und zurück zum Ganzen. Die Aufgabe ist, in konzentrischen Kreisen die Einheit des verstandenen Sinnes zu erweitern. Einstimmung aller Einzelheiten zum Ganzen ist das jeweilige Kriterium für die Richtigkeit des Verstehens. Das Ausbleiben solcher Einstimmung bedeutet Scheitern des Verstehens.[2]

Gadamer's argument, however, does not consider the fact that there are two versions of Jeremiah, differing in terms of length and organisation, but as Shead states, both versions of the book derived from the same parentage, although 𝔐-Jeremiah developed further than the *Vorlage* of 𝔊-Jeremiah, which was eventually translated into Greek and also had its own transmission history.[3] The Masoretic text, therefore, shall be the point of departure here not on the grounds that it is considered a superior text nor that it is a direct descendent of the *Vorlage* behind its Greek counterpart but rather because it covers more layers.

Some deny a clear structure within Jeremiah, but organisation can also be evaluated within a wider spectrum;[4] thus, to say that Jeremiah

[1] Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 32-34.
[2] Gadamer, *Wahrheit*, 296.
[3] Shead, *Open*, 260.
[4] Some consider that Jeremiah only gathers loose traditions. See Claus Rietzschel, *Das Problem der Urrolle: Ein Beitrag zur Redaktiongeschichte des Buches Jeremia* (Güttersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1966), 19-24; Ivan Engnell, 'Jeremias Bok', *SBU* 2 (1952):1089-1106. Others even downplay apparent organisational blocks e.g., Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 37; Collins, *Mantle*, 104. Such scepticism, however, is not

lacks any structure does not do justice to the book. The narrator presents Jeremiah as the implied author from a priestly background, who lived during the reigns of the kings Josiah, Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, but more important is the fact that the exile is already a reality (Jer 1:1-3).

Kessler suggests a three pillars structure, where chapter 1 sets out the scope of the prophet's mission and Yahweh's authority over the entire world. Halfway through the book, Jeremiah 25 functions like a hinge bridging the two halves of Jeremiah: firstly, looking in retrospect recapitulating the prophetic message and, secondly, projecting Babylon's judgment in the second half of the book. The OAN in Jeremiah 46–51 develops Babylon's punishment with more details.[5] Within such a structure, Jeremiah 2–6 alongside the OAN play the destructive role within the book (לנתוש ולנתוץ ולהאביד ולהרוס cf. 1:10), although the divine words of doom are mostly addressed to Judah, as סיר נפוח... ופניו מפני צפונה in the second vision clearly indicates (v. 13). This is confirmed by מצפון תפתח הרעה על כל־ישבי הארץ כי הנני קרא לכל־ משפחות ממלכות צפונה... ובאו ונתנו איש כסאו פתח שערי ירושלם ועל כל־חומתיה סביב ועל כל־ערי יהודה (vv. 14-15).[6] This destructive function appears in both versions of Jeremiah, but Gosse argues that the healing of Jerusalem's wound is only possible because of the way in which 𝔐-Jeremiah organises the material in response to Jeremiah 36 and also under the influence of the promises of new hope in chapters 30–31.[7] Despite that, Seitz uses the *lectio difficilior lectio probabilior* criterion to claim that 𝔐-Jeremiah preserves the original organisation,

unanimous, as others also have attempted to identify a structure. See T. R. Robbs, 'Some Remarks on the Composition and Structure of the Book of Jeremiah', *CBQ* 34 (1972):257-75; Alexander Rofé, 'The Arrangement of the Book of Jeremiah', *ZAW* 101 (1989):390-98; Jonathan Murphy, 'The Quest for the Structure of the Book of Jeremiah', *BibSac* 166 (2009):306-18.

[5] Martin Kessler, 'The Scaffolding of the Book of Jeremiah', in *Reading the Book of Jeremiah: A Search for Coherence*, ed. Martin Kessler (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 63-66.

[6] משפחות is absent in 𝔊-Jeremiah.

[7] Bernard Gosse, 'The Masoretic Redaction of Jeremiah: An Explanation', *JSOT* 77 (1998):79.

suggesting that the Greek edition relocated the OAN to the middle in order to conform the book with other prophetic books.[8] Yet this proposal has been challenged by Stipp on the grounds that the words of doom in Jer 25:13 connect with the OAN without any abrupt interruption, adding that the phrase ואת כל־הממלכות הארץ in 𝔐-Jer 25:26 is secondary.[9] Stipp, however, rejects Kaiser's suggestion that the structure shared by 𝔊-Jeremiah and the other two major prophets indicates a 'Dreigliederung in Gerichtsankündigungen gegen das eigene Volk, Fremdvölkersprüche und Verheißungen handelt es sich um eine eschatologisch gemeinte Komposition'.[10] The identification of different layers based on both versions, nonetheless, is not straightforward because one needs to decide whether a particular divergence between both versions reflects a textual growth, the influence of the translator or some aspect of the transmission of the Greek text. Retroversion, therefore, will only be selectively applied where there is a strong case for the presence of such strata.[11]

Also, whereas a holistic reading of Jeremiah provides some insights for the interpretation of Jeremiah 2–6 in the light of its internal coherence and the whole book, visible discrepancies also emerge from a synchronic approach.[12] Such inconsistencies have led some to explain

[8] C. R. Seitz, 'The Prophet Moses and the Canonical Shape of Jeremiah', *ZAW* 101 (1989):22.
[9] Stipp, *masoretische*, 84-85.
[10] See Otto Kaiser, 'Geschichtliche Erfahrung und Eschatologische Erwartung: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Eschatologie im Jesajabuch', *NZSTR* 15 (1973):272; Hermann-Josef Stipp, 'Legenden der Jeremia-Exegese (I): Das eschatologische Schema im alexandrinischen Jeremiabuch', *VT* 64 (2014):484-501;
[11] Retroverted passages, phrases or word here rely largely on Emanuel Tov, *The Parallel Aligned Hebrew-Aramaic and Greek Texts of Jewish Scripture* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2003).
[12] The contemporaneity of Jeremiah with King Josiah is perhaps one of the most evident examples, as there is no reference of the prophet within the so-called Deuteronomistic literature besides the fact that Jeremiah only mentions Josiah in secondary material cf. Hyatt, 'Original', 57-60. Thus, the reference of Jeremiah's ministry beginning from the thirteenth year of Josiah to the exile during the eleventh year of King Zedekiah should not be taken as a historiographical data but as a literary creation aiming to make a parallel with the forty years in the wilderness as well as the period of the Davidic reign. See Thomas Römer, 'The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah as a Supplement to the So-Called Deuteronomistic History', in *The Production of Prophecy: Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud*, ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi (London and Oakville, CT: Equinox, 2009), 179.

them in the light of Jeremiah's own material.[13] They generally place the prophet in a timeline before the fall of Jerusalem and somehow obscure the distinction between the prophet and the book named after him, trying to harmonise incongruities. In my view, however, approaches like this are problematic, as such historical reconstructions are compromised because they rely on highly interpretative material without considering the importance of the divorce between the historical prophet and the book named Jeremiah.[14] Having said that, this does not imply that nothing historically reliable can be found within Jeremiah, but it means that the book's content needs to be critically scrutinised bearing in mind that its historical events were interpreted theologically using transforming past traditions.[15]

[13] This approach was predominant amongst early modern scholarship, which attempted to identify the *Urrolle* based on the narrative of Jeremiah 36 alongside the quest for Jeremiah's *ipsissima verba*. Part of Jeremiah 2–6 was attributed to Jeremiah's earliest oracles, when the young prophet still lived in Anathoth and supported the Josianic reform. Also, the enemy from the North was associated with the Scythian hordes. For a detailed summary see Mark E. Biddle, *A Redaction History of Jeremiah 2:1–4:2*, AThANT 77 (Zürich: TVZ, 1990), Lundbom, *Early*, 1-39 and the section concerning biographical approaches in chapter 2 of this dissertation. Despite some modification, this perspective is still alive in different forms amongst current scholars. A fresher alternative has been presented by Hardmeier, who proposes that Jeremiah 2–6 was rhetorically and thematically restructured, reflecting the second scroll mentioned in Jeremiah 36. Its present form is a theological warning during the time of King Zedekiah and the imminent destruction of Judah by the Babylonians. See Christof Hardmeier, 'Die Redekomposition die Jer 2–6: Eine ultimative Verwarnung Jerusalems im Kontext des Zidkijaaufstandes', *WD* 21 (1991):11-42.

[14] Georg Fischer, 'A New Understanding of the Book of Jeremiah: A Response to Robert R. Wilson', in *Jeremiah's Scriptures: Production, Reception, Interaction, and Transformation*, ed. Hindy Najman and Konrad Schmid, JSJSup 173 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 22-43.

[15] Although biblical texts interpret the Babylonian exile in highly ideological terms, it does not mean that such large-scale destruction did not happen. In this regard, Valkama uses Faust's notion of 'Judah as a Post-Collapse Society' to argue that despite its continuing existence after the invasion, the mid-sixth century BCE Judah shows little development cf. Kirsi Valkama, 'What Do Archaeological Remains Reveal of the Settlements in Judah in the Mid-Sixth Century BCE?' in *The Concept of the Exile in Ancient Israel and Its Historical Context*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christopher Levin, BZAW 404 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 39-59. Also, it is true that Jeremiah 36 fictionalise Baruch's story with the intention to present an aetiology of the book, but one should not discard that a real scribal practice was behind this narrative. See Levin, *Verheißung*, 147-49; Carroll, *Chaos*, 5-18; Karel Van Der Toorn, 'From the Mouth of the Prophet: The Literary Fixation of Jeremiah's Prophecies in the Context of the Ancient Near East', in *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honour of Herbert B. Huffmon*, ed. John Kaltner and Louis Stulman, T&T Clark BS (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 191-

Henderson considers Jeremiah 2–10 as a unified composition, which tells the story of Israel from its liberation from Egypt to the Babylonian exile,[16] but following Stulman, Jeremiah 2–6 alone can be interpreted as a theological (or theodical) interpretation of the collapse of Judah.[17] These five chapters introduce the first major poetic block in Jeremiah with the pristine relationship between Yahweh and Israel (חסד 2:1-3) before its deterioration highlighted by the use of legal language (ריב 2:4-37), evolving into a call for repentance (שוב 3:1–4:4), which ends with the disaster (מצפון...רעה 4:5–6:30).[18] Obviously, this does not automatically prove that Jeremiah 2–6 share the same assumptions introduced in Jeremiah 1, as introductions in general are very likely the last editorial stage.[19] Although such a progression may have a dramatic effect in terms of how the story evolves for the reader's perspective, it does not necessarily reflect the order in which these chapters were written. Indeed, the redaction history of Jeremiah 2–6 was most likely the opposite.[20] Using Nietzsche's insight that art plays an important

201. According to Schmid, Jeremiah develops a universal history cf. Konrad Schmid, 'Nebuchadnezzar, the End of Davidic Rule, and the Exile in the Book of Jeremiah', in *The Prophets Speak on Forced Migration*, ed. Mark J. Boda et al., AIL, SBL 21 (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2015), 63-76.

[16] Joseph M. Henderson, 'Jeremiah 2–10 as a Unified Literary Composition', in *Uprooting and Planting: Essays on Jeremiah for Leslie Allen*, LHBOTS 459 (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 116-52.

[17] Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 45-46.

[18] Ronald E. Clements, 'Jeremiah 1–25 and the Deuteronomistic History', in *Understanding Poets and Prophets: Essays in Honour of George Wishart Anderson*, ed. A. Graeme Auld, JSOTSup 152 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, Press, 1993), 96-98; Peter C. Craigie, Page H. Kelley and Joel F. Drinkard Jr., *Jeremiah 1–25*, WBC 26 (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1991), 20. Despite discussions regarding criteria to differentiate prose and poem in Jeremiah scholarship, the uncommon word order in biblical Hebrew poetry, which differs from the sequence verb-subject-object, is widely accepted as a poetic feature. See the assessment of the phenomenon of defamiliarization dealt by Nicholas P. Lunn, *Word-Order Variation in Biblical Hebrew Poetry: Differentiating Pragmatics and Poetics*, PBM (Milton Keynes: Bucks: Paternoster, 2006), 1-9.

[19] Maier employs the term 'prosthesis', a literary device which aims to provide a short comment on an extant text, to Jeremiah's metaphor of Yahweh's stronghold cf. Christl M. Maier, 'Jeremiah as YHWH's Stronghold (Jer 1:18)', *VT* 64 (2014):640-53.

[20] It is likely that the beginning of Jeremiah tradition started with laments without any association with accusation in Jeremiah 4–10. The theology of accusation was developed by insertions of 2f.s., addressing Jerusalem, which thematically links with Jeremiah 2–3. See Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 128-31; —, *Gibt*, 66-68.

hermeneutical role interpreting suffering in conjunction with Weber's thinking that rituals help people to face life's insecurities,[21] it is suggested that the downfall of Jerusalem under Babylon (587/6 BCE) triggered laments about such a disaster (Jer 4:5–6:30), which developed into indictments (Jer 2:2-37) followed by the call for repentance (Jer 3:1–4:4). From an etic perspective, these units are unified by the subject of theodicy. Although moral and natural/physical types of evil appear in both sections, 2:2–4:4 focus on the former whilst 4:5–6:30 emphasise the latter.

5.1. Moral Evil (Jer 2:1–4:4)

The subject of moral evil appears more often in Jeremiah 2:1–4:4 in a reasonable logical development, even though this does not necessarily evidence a uniform authorial composition nor a single metaphor. Holladay gives Jeremiah 2:1–4:4 the title, 'the accusation of harlotry and the appeal to repent', and credits the whole section to the historical prophet, who would have edited early oracles addressed to the North, expanded such oracles in the first scroll and slightly enlarged them in the second scroll.[22] Without claiming Jeremiah's authorship, Yates, Diamond and O'Connor argue that Jeremiah 2–3 tells the story of the unfaithful wife.[23] This thematic unity has led Johnson to consider Jeremiah 2–3 as a unified composition, crediting it to the hands of a skilful scribe.[24] Metaphors, however, are not the end itself, but a means of conveying criticism against the people's apostasy. Also it has been noticed that the marriage metaphor is not consistent in Jeremiah 2 and it is only in chapter 3 that the image of marriage and divorce occurs

[21] Nietzsche, *fröhliche*, 5:370; Weber, *Gesammelte*, 1-7.
[22] Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 62.
[23] Gary E. Yates, 'Jeremiah's Message of Judgment and Hope for God's Unfaithful "Wife"', *BibSac* 167 (2010):144-65; A. R. Pete Diamond and Kathleen M. O'Connor, 'Unfaithful Passions: Coding Women and Coding Men in Jeremiah 2–3 (4:2)', *BI* 4 (1996):288-310.
[24] Dylan R. Johnson, 'The Prophetic Lawsuit of Jeremiah 2–3 Text, Law, and Education in Biblical Prophecy', *ZABR* 23 (2017):229-43.

with more coherence.[25] Popko even challenges the dominance of the marriage metaphor in the whole of Jeremiah 2:2–4:2, making a distinction between the image of marriage and feminine references.[26] The division 'apostasy and repentance', thereby, proposed by Lundbom and Miller seems more appropriate, as it properly distinguishes the concept from the illustrations which convey it.[27] Still, the subdivision in 2:1–4:4 into apostasy and repentance sections is not just thematic because they evolve using distinctive literary operations. The apostasy motif highlighted in 2:1-37 was developed using evident redactional frames alongside themes and keywords; conversely, although 3:1–4:4 do have the theme of repentance centred on the word שוב, this subject grew through exegetical comments.[28]

(a) Apostasy

Whilst Jeremiah 2–6 is formed by a compilation of poems merged under the topic of theodicy, different units are combined in Jeremiah 2:1-37 following the leitmotif of apostasy within an apologetic discourse about exclusive Yahwistic cult and aniconic practices in many instances. The presence of legal vocabulary in Jeremiah 2 has led some commentators to consider that the genre of lawsuit permeates the whole chapter and, in some cases, even a single authorship.[29] Unifying

[25] Baumann, *Liebe*, 111-15; Sharon Moughtin-Murphy, *Sexual and Marital Metaphors in Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel*, OTM (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 84.
[26] Łukasz Popko, *Marriage Metaphor and Feminine Imagery in Jer 2:1–4:2: A Diachronic Study Based on the MT and LXX*, EB 70 (Leuven, Paris and Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2015), 540-41.
[27] Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 249; Patrick D. Miller, 'Jeremiah', in *The New Interpreters' Bible*, ed. Leander E. Keck, et al., vol. 6 (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1994), 589-96.
[28] Siegfried Herrmann, *Jeremiah*, BKAT XII/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990), 102-103. Biddle, *Redaction*, 206-14; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 596.
[29] Fischer considers Jeremiah 2 as a homogeneous monologue expressing Yahweh's frustration against the people and explains the constant change of direction on the grounds of rhetorical purposes. See Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 151-52. Thompson argues that the lawsuit pattern controls the whole chapter cf. Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 159-60. Huffmon identifies two types of lawsuits, originating from distinctive ancient Near Eastern backgrounds. One associated with the divine councils whilst the other was related to the covenant between Yahweh and Israel at Mt. Sinai. This covenantal

elements, however, should not lead to rapid conclusions about a specific lawsuit genre or the same authorial composition, although they might have been used as a criterion to group independent units together.[30] It is more likely that Jeremiah 2:1-37 went through a long complex editorial process, which can be discerned by a whole range of alterations, such as Masoretic expansions, and the frequency of 2.f.s., alongside distinctive theological accents.[31]

Jer 2:1-3

1 ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי לאמר הלך וקראת באזני ירושלם[32]
2 לאמר[33] כה אמר יהוה
זכרתי לך חסד נעוריך אהכת כלולתיך
לכתך אחרי במדבר בארץ לא זרועה[34]
3 קדש ישראל ליהוה ראשית תבואתה
כל־אכליו יאשמו[35] רעה תבא[36] אליהם
נאם־יהוה
פ

Moral and natural/physical forms of evil are entangled in the longer prologue addressed to Jerusalem. Its limits are clearly signalled in the Masoretic text by the presence of פ after 1:4-19 and immediately after 2:3. But more importantly are the surrounding oracular formulas since they can also be identified in 𝔊-Jeremiah; not only did this introduction

type was formed by a historical prologue and employed natural elements as witness in the lawsuit against Israel, although it could appear with some variations. Jeremiah 2, in particular, matches this second type. See Herbert B. Huffmon, 'The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets', *JBL* 78 (1959):285-95. Nielsen argues that Yahweh performs a bifunctional role (prosecutor and judge) in a court procedure with the Hittite Suzerain-vassal treaties as its *Sitz im Leben*; such a litigation presses charges against Israel for breaking the covenant, where natural elements function as witnesses in the courtroom, and calamity works as the penalty anticipated in the agreement cf. Nielsen, *Prosecutor*, 74-83.

[30] Herrmann, *Jeremiah*, BKAT XII/2, 104. Daniels rejects the existence a prophetic lawsuit genre based on the lack of clear structural traits, considering them simply as oracles of doom designed according to the priestly Torah, and also discards the Hittite Suzerain-vassal treaties as the context for the use of heaven and earth, as they reflect a later development from the Assyrian era. See Dwight R. Daniels, 'Is There a "Prophetic Lawsuit" Genre?', *ZAW* 99 (1987):339-60.

[31] Biddle has identified three layers, namely the *Schuldübernahme*, generation and the frame redactions. See Biddle, *Redaction*, 39-82, 122-95.

[32] Minus.

[33] και ειπε = ויאמר.

[34] Minus.

[35] πλημμελησουσι.

[36] ηξει.

cover the apostasy theme in 2:4–4:4, but it also connects it with the call narrative in 1:4-10 using catchwords, such as אחרי and הלך.[37] Although some have suggested that these verses reflect a self-contained oracle,[38] they create a picture of a pristine ideal past designed for theological purposes contrasting with Judah's fall with the goal of convincing the people to repent.[39] Biddle argues that these verses in conjunction with 4:1-2 work as a redactional frame of 2:5–3:25, where Hoseanic traditions were transformed within this framework giving universal applicability to whatever circumstances in which the people misbehave; a salvific complement appears in 4:1f. with promises of the protection of the people alongside blessings towards the nations through the insertion of the patriarchal beginnings; such selective and synthetic features characterise post-exilic writing techniques.[40] Popko, nevertheless, claims that 2:2-3 alone can be seen as an editorial opening

[37] Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 249-51; Werner H. Schmidt, *Das Buch Jeremia: Kapitel 1–20*, ATD 20 (Göttingen: Verlag von Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 66-68.

[38] The antithesis between positive and negative words led Graff to believe that vv. 1-3 were the source text for the homily in the following verses. This juxtaposition was also at the centre of Volz's delimitation of vv. 1-19, which was also adopted in Weiser, Schmidt and Giménez-Rico. See Graf, *Jeremia*, 20; Volz, *Jeremia*, 16-17; Artur Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia: Kap. 1–25,14. 20 Übersetzt und erklärt*, ATD 21 (Göttingen: Verlag von Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 15; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 66; Enrique Sanz Giménez-Rico, 'Encontrar a Yahveh Sin Salir a Buscarlo: El Comienzo del Libro de Jeremías (Jr 2, 1-19)', *EE* 82 (2007):461-90. Erbt, however, dated vv. 2-3 immediately after King Josiah's death. See Wilhelm Erbt, *Jeremia und seine Zeit: Die Geschichte der letztem fünfzig Jahre des vorexilischen Juda. Beigegeben ist der Untersuchung des Jeremiabuches eine Uebersetzung der ursprünglichen Stücke und die Umschrift der Prophetensprüche mit Bezeichnung des Rhythmus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902), 128-30. Allen also considers these verses a self-contained oracle of disaster without locating it in a specific period cf. Leslie C. Allen, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville, KY and London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 33. Some still suggest that a previous form of the oracle existed before it reached its current edited shape and some of them even attempted to place it in a specific historical context provided by the book. See Craigie et al., *Jeremiah*, 24; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 162-65; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 254.

[39] The exegetical function of Jer 2:1-3 in the book's redaction has already been highlighted by some scholars. See Willy Schottroff, 'Jeremia 2, 1-3: Erwägungen zur Methode der Prophetenexegese', *ZThK* 67 (1970):263-94; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 29; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 118-21. For Burden, the juxtaposition between Tetrateuchal wilderness traditions and the way in which Jeremiah employed them highlights the theological role cf. Terry L. Burden, *The Kerygma of the Wilderness Traditions in the Hebrew Bible*, AUSTR VII/163 (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 161-65.

[40] Biddle, *Redaction*, 159-200.

based on Masoretic dividing makers and despite not giving a specific date or a geographical location for vv. 2-3, he argues that this prologue was written after 3:14-18, which he considers from the restoration period.[41]

The poem portrays Yahweh's employing two retrospective images: Israel's faithful love as a bride is in the first verse whereas her protégée status is depicted by the contrast between קדש ישראל ליהוה ראשית תבואתה and כל־אכליו יאשמו רעה תבא אליהם (v. 3). Despite the fact that some have quickly interpreted כלולתיך as a marriage metaphor, bridal love seems to grasp the meaning more accurately and has support from ancient translations.[42] Fox argues that חסד does not refer to Israel but Yahweh;[43] but the combination in the three columns does not allow the association of חסד with Yahweh. Additionally, some resemblances between the 'marriage' metaphor in Hosea and Jeremiah have led some scholars to argue for some form of continuity,[44] but such connections need not be explained on biographical basis, as Hosea as well as other northern traditions were imported to Judah after the fall of Samaria.[45]

[41] Popko, *Marriage*, 365-70, 424-28.
[42] See Baumann, *Liebe*, 112; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 27.
[43] Michael V. Fox, 'Jeremiah 2:2 and the "Desert Ideal"', *CBQ* 35 (1973):441-50.
[44] Duhm thought that the young Jeremiah was influenced by Hosea's theology cf. Duhm, *Jeremia*, 16-17; Biggs attempts to trace the northern traditions from Samuel, passing through Hosea until reaching the southern kingdom via Jeremiah cf. Charles R. Biggs, 'Prophets and Traditions: The Relations Between Jeremiah and the Traditions of Northern Israel', *ABR* 20 (1972):1-15. Linguistic comparisons between Hosea and Jeremiah were extensively explored by Groβ to support the continuity between the two prophets and were later revised by Schulz-Rauch, who explained such resemblances on the grounds of a common regional tradition. See Karl Groβ, *Die literarische Verwandtschaft Jeremias mit Hosea* (Borna and Leipzig: Universitätsverlag von Robert Noske, 1930), 32-33; Martin Schulz-Rauch, *Hosea und Jeremia. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Hosea buches* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1996), 237.
[45] There are plenty of evidence in the ANE that scribes were involved in the temples and royal courts; as these institutions were not detached from each other in the ancient world, the scribes had access to a wide collection of material (e.g., official lists, chronicles, oracles, etc). It is possible that during the composition process, this material was incorporated. See Van Der Toorn, *Scribal*, 51-108. Emmerson suggests that the fact that words of salvation addressed to the southern kingdom and the Davidic dynasty alongside criticism towards the northern cultic practices and sanctuaries appear in Hosea strongly indicate that the book was edited according to Judean perspectives cf. Grace I. Emmerson, *Hosea: An Israelite Prophet in Judean Perspective*, JSOTSup 28 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 156-64. This proposal corroborates with archaeological evidence, which suggests a visible demographical

The second image appears to evoke a mixture of different priestly laws, such as the consecration of the first fruits offered in the sanctuary to be consumed by the priests (Num 18:12-13), against which violation of these rules demanded penalties (Lev 22:14-16), and possibly the consecration of the first born (Exod 4:22).[46] The image of Israel's protection appears again in the oracles against Babylon in 𝔐-Jer 50:7/𝔊-Jer 27:7, but Reimer and Kessler argue that since Israel rebelled against Yahweh, the divine protection was removed from Israel and the enemies' assault, illustrated by the images of predators against their prey, is now justified.[47] Still, unlike the moral contours in most of Jeremiah 2, the use of רעה in v. 3 connotes something closer to natural/physical evil, as it carries the sense of something bad or harmful. Miglio associates it with the legal formalities for an ordeal in Number 5, where a 'taboo' was consumed in order to have a divine decision; such a conduct, which resembles recognised procedures from the Amurrite period, introduces the following oracle in 2:4-9 through the use of keywords אכל and בוא, which appears again in v. 7.[48]

Since most differences concerning 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah can hardly be explained in terms of the translator's influence, it is textually plausible to suggest two strata behind vv. 1-3. The Masoretic layer inserts an additional heading (v. 1), a reference about the wilderness (v. 2) and duplicates קדש ישראל ליהוה (v. 3).[49] Perhaps the only clear

growth in Judah after the collapse of the northern kingdom. See Soggin, *Storia*, 300-301; Israel Finkelstein, 'Migration of Israelites into Judah after 720 BCE: An Answer and Update', *ZAW* 127 (2015):188-206.

[46] James Kugel, 'The Holiness of Israel and the Land in Second Temple Times', in *Texts, Temples and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran*, eds. Michael V. Fox et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 22.

[47] Reimer, *Oracles*, 198-200; Kessler, *Battle*, 76.

[48] Adam Miglio, 'Ordeal, Infidelity, and Prophetic Irony in Jeremiah 2, 1-9', *SJOT* 24 (2010):222-34.

[49] Janzen and Ziegler assume that the phrase במדבר בארץ לא זרועה was absent in the *Vorlage* of 𝔊-Jeremiah, but Ziegler also deleted αγιος Ισραηλ τω κυριω based on his doublet principle. See Janzen, *Text*, 26, 113; Ziegler, *Beiträge*, 93. McKane, however, suggests that the translator could have paraphrased אחרי as του εξακολουθησαι σε τω αγιω Ισραηλ cf. McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 27. If this is the case, then, it is possible that the writers behind the Greek additions of Daniel 3 might have been influenced by 𝔊-Jer 1:3 cf. John J. Schmitt, 'The God of Israel and the Holy One', *HS* 24 (1983):29. Tov considers לך in v. 2 questionable possibly because of his isomorphic

instance of the translator's influence can be observed where the Qal imperfect יאשמו and תבא (v. 3) was rendered as future πλημμελησουσιν and ηξει. It is difficult to tell whether these expansions and the order of Masoretic text occurred all together or separately, yet its organisation as it stands could be read alongside the punishment of Babylon for the destruction of the temple.[50] The content of the Masoretic layer and its linguistic feature alone does not say much in terms of date; none of the expansions fit within Joosten's criteria[51] and in fact, the presence of ירושלם instead of ירושלים in v. 2 is actually closer to Hornkohl's argument, as the former occurs with more frequency in classical Hebrew;[52] thereby, the only thing one can presume regarding these expansions is that they were added after vv. 2-3 were written.[53]

Without claiming any textual dependence, one could compare the sequence of the accounts of humanity's creation followed by its expulsion from the paradise (Gen 2:4b–3:1-22) with Jer 2:1-3.[54] Few

criterion and argues that 𝔐-Jeremiah tends to add extra information from the book itself or elsewhere. See Tov, 'Aspects', 152-57. For instance, the formula ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי לאמר is widespread in prophetic literature and may have derived from other portions of Jeremiah (e.g., Jer 1:4, 11; 2:1; 13:8; 16:1; 24:4; Ezek 3:16; 6:1; 7:1; 11:14; 12:1, 17, 21, 26; 13:1; 14:2, 12; 15:1; 16:1; 17:1, 11; 18:1; 20:2; 21:1, 6, 13, 23; 22:1, 17, 23; 23:1; 24:15; 25:1; 28:1, 20; 30:1; 33:1, 23; 34:1; 35:1; 36:16, 37:15; 38:1; Zech 4:8; 6:9) and הלך וקאת also occurs in 3:12.

[50] Niditch, *War*, 68, 80.

[51] Joosten, 'L'Excédent', 93-108.

[52] Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 91-94.

[53] Duhm suggests that the heading had the purpose of presenting Jeremiah 2–6 'Eine grosse in Jerusalem gehaltene Predigt' designed for reading cf. Duhm, *Jeremia*, 15-16. Holladay argues that the rubric in 2:1-2a reflects the southern first recession of the book, which reapplied words initially addressed to the North. See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 73-77. But Holladay's reconstruction clearly relies on Jeremiah 36. Some have recently proposed the early Second Temple (or Persian) period, as the socio-historical context of 𝔐-Jeremiah. See John Hill, 'The Book of Jeremiah (MT) and Its Early Second Temple Background', in *Uprooting and Planting: Essays on Jeremiah for Leslie Allen*, LHBOTS 459 (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 153-71; Rannfrid I. Thelle, 'MT Jeremiah: Reflections of a Discourse on Prophecy in the Persian Period', in *The Production of Prophecy: Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud*, ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi (London and Oakville, CT: Equinox, 2009), 184-207. For Fried, since 𝔐-Jeremiah already knows about the return of the temple's vessels, it must have been written after 516 BCE when the Second Temple was already dedicated. See Lisbeth S. 'Evidence for the Dating of Masoretic Text of Jeremiah', in *Jeremiah in History and Tradition*, ed. Jim West and Niels Peter Lemche, CIS (London and New York: Routledge, 2019), 71-80. Fischer suggests some time during the 4th century BCE cf. Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 120-22.

[54] Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 263.

nowadays would take both stories in Genesis as factual but as mythic discourses instead; they explain the existing problem of evil through a contrast between a former pristine world corrupted by the fall.[55] As stated by Ricoeur, mythic discourses are by nature notoriously speculative and abstract; humanity is universally embraced by myths of evil within an ideal history; such universality acquires its real nature when human experience is introduced through the means of narration, retelling the story of fault from the beginning to end; discrepancies between the ideal past and the corrupted reality are then experimentally dealt with by mythic discourses.[56]

A new rubric, שמעו דבר־יהוה בית יעקב וכל־משפחות בית ישראל (2:4), introduces a long speech which ends in 2:37, but the address to Israel should not be taken at face value, as some have done.[57] According to Hornkohl, the full spelling of the patriarch Jacob (יעקוב) is a feature of LBH and it appears only in the second half of Jeremiah, particularly where scholars consider part of the book's later additions.[58] Even though his observation is based on solid linguistic grounds, one should not deduce that 2:4 automatically reflects an earlier phase of the book. From the Deuteronomistic perspective Judah never admitted the

[55] Genesis 2–3 was composed by originally independent narratives, which belong to ancient stories about the beginning of humanity and had great importance for the community. The writer merged two narratives into a single one where the contrast between creation and fall was incorporated within the story of Israel and its ancestors. See Claus Westermann, *Genesis*, vol. 1 (Des Erziehungsvereins Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirschner Verlag, 1974), 255-69.
[56] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 153-56.
[57] See Rainer Albertz, 'Jer 2–6 und die Frühzeitverkündigung Jeremias', *ZAW* 94 (1982):20-47; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 85; Dieter Böhler, 'Geschlechterdifferenz und Landbesitz: Structuruntersuchungen zu Jer 2,2–4,2', in *Jeremia und die 'deuteronomistische Bewegung'*, ed. Walter Gross (Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum, 1995), 91-127; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 258; Marvin A. Sweeney, 'Structure and Redaction in Jeremiah 2–6', in *Troubling Jeremiah*, ed. A. R. Pete Diamond, Kathleen M. O'Connor and Louis Stulman, JSOTSup 260 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 200-18; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 598; Leuchter, *Josiah's*, 87-97; Stipp, 'Verfasserschaft', 188. Much of this assumption relies on the idea that the young Jeremiah supported the Josianic expansions. See N. Lohfink, 'Der junge Jeremia als Propagandist und Poet. Zum Grundstock von Jer 30–31', in *Le Livre de Jérémie*, ed. P.-M. Bogaert, BETL 54 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 351-68.
[58] Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 73-74.

division of the united monarchy and considered itself as the true representative of all Israel.[59]

The long discourse in 2:5-37 is composed by independent units rhetorically tied. The presence of rhetorical questions led some to trace sapiencial influence in Jeremiah. Both Brueggemann and Ahn find vestige of wisdom tradition in the book, arguing that the prophet uses it with some freedom. Particularly Brueggemann claims that Jeremiah creates a new formula, combining two pre-existing forms of rhetorical questions (ה/אם). These questions are attributed to pedagogy and possible connections with sapiencial tradition of act-consequence and were employed in Jeremiah to claim that the judgment resulted from breaking the covenant. מדוע is often used to challenge a circumstance or a presumption and, like the former, is used in the argument that the disaster was a consequence of the people's infidelity.[60] Overholt and Willis recognise the use of quotations as a rhetorical device, but the former is enthusiastic in using it as a criterion for authenticity without making a sharp distinction between the audience portrayed in the text and the readers, although the latter seems more aware of such a distinction. Additionally, Willis observes the importance of reading some of the units together, as they form parts of a bigger picture.[61] Along similar lines, Hildebrandt claims that what holds 2:1–3:5 together is not a single metaphor or a form-critical structure, but a holistic reading in which a combination of independent units make a coherent message; he adds that presentation of this long discourse

[59] Soggin, *Storia*, 301; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 81. Since v. 5ff. present Israel's story retrospectively, the reference to Israel is a justified intentional archaism. See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 31; Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, *Die Ferne Gottes: Studien zum Jeremiabuch. Beiträge zu den "Konfessionen" im Jeremiabuch und ein Versuch zur Frage nach den Anfängen der Jeremiatradition*, BZAW 179 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988), 119.

[60] See Walter Brueggemann, 'Jeremiah's Use of Rhetorical Questions', *JBL* 92 (1973):358-74; Keun-Jo Ahn, 'The Trace of Wisdom in the Book of Jeremiah', in *Mapping and Engaging the Bible in Asian Culture*, ed. Yŏng-Mi Yi and Yoon Jong Yoo (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 2009), 177-93.

[61] See Thomas W. Overholt, 'Jeremiah 2 and the Problem of "Audience Reaction"', *CBQ* 41 (1979):262-73; John T. Willis, 'Dialogue Between Prophet and Audience as a Rhetorical Device in the Book of Jeremiah', *JSOT* 33 (1985):63-82.

resists the search for a specific historical location because references to Egypt and Assyria are also part of the rhetorical structure.[62] Despite the fact that rhetorical devices may well be used to merge independent units together, a rhetorical unit by no means implies a single authorship.[63] Two distinctive features characterised by the use of non-2.f.s. and 2.f.s. can be found in 2:5–37. Whereas the former contains a clear discourse against idolatry, the latter focuses on a political criticism, which by no means implies a division between religion and state, but rather a clear development of an incipient form of monotheism, which is a fruit of a later stage.

For many commentators vv. 5-13 form a single unit,[64] but although vv. 5-9 and 10-13 belong to the same non-2f.s. layer, two distinctive poems can still be identified. The borders of the first one are easier to identify because of the presence of two oracular formulas in vv. 5 and 9; nevertheless, these two units are connected by the conjunction כי (v. 10) in a complementary relation employing two distinctive images to reinforce the people's apostasy.[65]

Jer 2:5-9

5 כה אמר יהוה
מה־מצאו אבותיכם בי עול כי רחקו מעלי
וילכו אחרי ההבל ויהבלו
6 ולא אמרו איה יהוה המעלה אתנו מארץ מצרים
המוליך אחנו במדבר בארץ ערבה ושוחה
בארץ ציה וצלמות[66] בארץ[67] לא־עבר בה איש

[62] Hildebrandt, *Interpreting*, 200-203.
[63] Hardmeier, for instance, advocates a synchronic reading of Jeremiah 2–6 arguing that the change of addressees should not be taken as redactional layers but rhetorical devices instead. See Hardmeier, 'Redekomposition', 20. Like Fischer, Popko considers 2:4-37 a uniform composition contra Biddle's generation redaction on the basis that דור is absent in 𝔊-Jer 2:31. See Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 141-53; Popko, *Marriage*, 371.
[64] Except for Hyatt, who presents the following delimitation vv. 1-13 (cf. Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 811-13), the subsequent commentaries divide the unit as (4)5-13. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 17; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 34; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 48-49; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 598-600; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 169-70; Craigie et al., *Jeremiah*, 27-30; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 30; Gunther Wanke, *Jeremia 1,1–25,14*, vol. 1, ZBK (Zürich: ZTV, 1995), 35-34; Herrmann, *Jeremiah*, BKAT XII/2, 117.
[65] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1; 123-24; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 68; Lundbom, *Jeremiah,* vol. 1, 256.
[66] και ακαρπω = וגלמודה.
[67] Plus εν η = אשר.

ולא־ישב אדם שם
7 ואביא אתכם אל־ארץ[68] הכרמל לאכל פריה וטובה
ותבאו ותטמאו את־ארצי ונחלתי שמתם לתועבה
8 הכהנים לא אמרו איה יהוה ותפשי התורה לא ידעוני
והרעים פשעו בי והנביאם נבאו בבעל
ואחרי לא־יועלו הלכו
9 לכן עד אריב אתכם
נאם־יהוה
ואת־בני בניכם אריב

The first poem tells the history of a continuous apostasy building an augmented chiastic structure with the gift of the land (ואביא אתכם אל־ארץ הכרמל) followed by its defilement (ותבאו ותטמאו את־ארצי ונחלתי שמתם לתועבה) at the centre cf. v. 7. It begins with Yahweh's rhetorical question challenging the fathers to find any fault (עול) in him cf. v. 5, but its obvious negative answer grounded on Israel's continuous rebellious history (vv. 6-8) supports the sentence against the people (אריב אתכם... ואת־בני בניכם אריב) cf. v. 9.[69] Although there is a possibility that צלמות might be an epithet of 'shelter/protection of death/Mot' alluding the underworld, it is more likely that in v. 6 it means simply darkness.[70] Since quotations concerning the fathers and priests (vv. 5, 8) are rhetorically designed to support the argument about apostasy, the deity is in fact the only speaker. Yet the reference to all leaders presents a harsh criticism against all past institutions; moreover, the poem presupposes a significant amount of Pentateuchal tradition regarding the wilderness and the entrance in the land (vv. 6-7),[71] but only after Israel's compromised history is exposed, the poem returns to its audience with implications for the next generations (v. 9).

Whilst apostasy is clearly the main concern of the poem, the term טמא has a central theological importance. Ricoeur argues that defilement symbolises an invisible infectious force, which has

[68] Minus.
[69] Not surprisingly Weiser interpreted vv. 1-19 according to his *Heilsgeschichte* framework cf. Weiser, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 15-17.
[70] See Walter L. Michel, 'ŞLMWT, "Deep Darkness or Shadow of Death"?' *BR* 29 (1984):5-13; Antony P. Stone, 'Does "Shadow of Death" Mean "Deep Darkness"?' *BR* 51 (2006):53-57.
[71] Burden, *Kerygma*, 161-65.

retributive consequences. Whilst Ricoeur is probably right in terms of the reciprocal implications of defilement, his differentiation of defilement as something that occurs externally instead of a matter related to one's intention[72] cannot be applied to vv. 5-9 without adjustments because it is exactly the people's apostate behaviour that defiled the land. In this sense, Klawans' double priestly system seems an appropriate corrective, as the case here refers to moral impurity rather than ritual impurity, as indicated by idolatry and the pair תועבה/טמא. Unlike ritual impurity, which is short-lasting and can be resolved with rituals of purification, moral impurity is long-lasting, it demands punishment or atonement and does not necessarily need to be committed within the realms of the sanctuary.[73]

Jer 2:10-13

10 כי עברו איי כתיים וראו
וקדר שלחו והתבוננו מאד
וראו הן היתה כזאת
11 ההימיר גוי אלהים[74] והמה לא אלהים
ועמי המיר כבודו בלוא יועיל
12 שמו שמים על־זאת
ושערו הרבו[75] מאד
נאם־יהוה
13 כי־שתים רעות עשה עמי
אתי עזבו מקור
מים היים
לחצב להם בארות
בארה[76] נשברים
אשר לא־יכלו[77] המים

The conjunction כי (v. 10) does not function as a conclusion, but a link between two poems. It, therefore, marks the beginning of the next unit which closes in v. 13, as another rhetorical question (v. 14) indicates the beginning of a new unit. Another distinctive feature of unit 10-13 is the frequency of imperatives cf. vv. 10, 12. An image of

[72] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 31-36.
[73] See Klawans, *Impurity*, 26-31.
[74] ει αλλαξονται εθνη θεος αυτων = הימר הגים אלהיהם.
[75] επι πλειον = הרבה.
[76] Minus.
[77] δυνησονται = יכל.

extreme poles (v. 10) is employed to support another question, the answer to which is exactly the opposite of common sense (v. 11); this unexpected response is so shocking that even the heavens are horrified (v. 12) and the poem concludes using two images to denounce the people's apostasy again. DeRoche attempts to interpret the waters in v. 13 through the means of intertextuality, suggesting that euphemisms used in reference to sexual relations in Prov 5:15-18 and Songs 4:12, 15 support the image of Israel's adulterous relation,[78] but there is no need for such an association as the metaphor of marriage is just one of many rhetorical devices to illustrate the people's evils (רעות), which constitutes a clear reference to the theme of apostasy.

Many commentators consider that the legal language in vv. 5-13 configures a ריב pattern,[79] but although the presence of judicial vocabulary is evident across Jeremiah 2, it appears rather fragmented instead of an integral structure. What is interesting, however, is the fact that the high concentration of nomistic language occurs within sections which many scholars consider Deuteronomistic.[80] In particular references against worship of other gods, which is within Jer 2:4-13, resonate with Pakkala's argument that 'late exilic editors were the first ones in the DH to prohibit the worship of other gods'.[81] The reference to תורה in 2:8 is also very suggestive. Maier argues that the term is first employed in Jeremiah by exilic writers c. 550 BCE as evidence of

[78] Michael DeRoche, 'Israel's "Two Evils" in Jeremiah II 13', *VT* 31 (1981):369-72.
[79] See Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 159-60; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 73-74; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 34; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 48-49; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 598-600; Craigie et al., *Jeremiah*, 27-29; Giménez-Rico, 'Encontrar', 461-90; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 77-79; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 35-38; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 151-52.
[80] As vv. 4-13 did not fit within Duhm's *qînah* metric criteria, he classified this text as Deuteronomistic. Reverence to the Torah alongside a sharp criticism against idols characterise a message addressed to scattered Jews, who faced the dangers of paganism cf. Duhm, *Jeremia*, 17-21. Thiel, likewise, argued that the Deuteronomistic redactor inserted וילכו אחרי ההבל ויהבלו in 2:5, which can also be found in 2 Kings 17:15. See Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 80-81. Such Deuteronomistic traces in vv. 4-13 were also perceived by his mentor. See Herrmann, *Jeremiah*, BKAT XII/2, 119ff. In the same manner, Carroll also makes references to the generalised nature of Deuteronomistic language amongst Yahweh-alone groups who gained a prominent position especially post-587 BCE. See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 123-27.
[81] Pakkala, *Intolerant*, 239.

Judah's guilt regarding the disaster and its use in 2:8 occurs within the context of a historical review in Deuteronomistic fashion accusing the experts in תורה of not knowing Yahweh, which also proofs the guilt of the father's generation highlighting the importance of תורה in history.[82]

The Deuteronomistic stereotypical language is highly ideological; not only did it play an important role in the construction of morality through a process of systematic deconstruction of pre-exilic Israel, but also resonates with Spinoza's ethics, where the perception of good and evil derives from the individuals' subjective perception.[83] It, thereby, works analogically along the lines of narratives designed to demonise political enemies of our own time during the Cold War or the War against Terror, in which language is an essential weapon in the construction of cosmologies.[84]

Jer 2:14-19[85]

14 העבד ישראל אם־יליד בית הוא
מדוע היה לבז
15 עליו ישאגו כפרים נתנו קולם
וישיתו ארצו לשמה עריו נצתה[86] מבלי ישב
16 גם־בני־נף ותחפנס ירעוך[87] קדקד[88]
17 הלוא־זאת תעשה־לך[89] עזבך את־יהוה[90] אלהיך
בעת מוליכך בדרך[91]
18 ועתה מה־לך לדרך מצרים לשתות מי שחור
ומה־לך לדרך אשור[92] לשתות מי נהר
19 היסרך רעתך ומשבותיך תוכחך

[82] Christl Maier, *Jeremia als Lehrer der Tora: Soziale Gebote des Deuteronomiums in Fortschreibungen des Jeremiabuches*, FRLAN 196 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 354.
[83] Spinoza, *Ethica*, 4. Preface, 4:26-27. Since Rudolph took vv. 1-13 at face value, he interpreted that such idolatrous conditions reflected the prophet's early words from before the Josianic reform, but later expanded according to Jeremiah 36. See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 10-11.
[84] See Chan, *Evil*, 3-34; Kierkegaard, *Angest*, 41-47.
[85] Vv. 16-17 are divided differently in 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah.
[86] κατεσκαφησαν = נתצו.
[87] εγωσαν σε = ידעוך.
[88] και κατεπαιζον σου = קרדר. Plus σου.
[89] εποιησεν σοι = עשה.
[90] εμε = אתי + λεγει κυριος = נאם־יהוה.
[91] Minus.
[92] Γηων = גחון.

ודעי וראי כי־רע[93] ומר[94] עזבך את־יהוה[95] אלהיך
ולא פחדתי אליך
נאם־אדני יהוה צבאות[96]

Since vv. 1-3 and 14ff. share the same gender and number, Duhm and Bright thought that they were part of the same unit,[97] but as discussed above the prelude should be considered as part of a later stratum. Nonetheless, the recurrence of 2.f.s. in vv. 14-19 still works as the main criterion to delimit this pericope in conjunction with the expanded formula נאם־אדני יהוה צבאות (v. 19).[98] A new rhetorical question, involving a parallel between עבד and יליד בית, employed to introduce Israel's vassal state before the superpowers, opens the poem where the image of Israel as לבז makes a skilful connection with the metaphor of כפרים (vv. 14-15). The phrase גם־בני־נף ותחפנס ירעוך קדקד (v. 16), however, probably reflects a later addition within this pericope, but its inclusion is still related to Judah's failure at the hand of Egypt.[99] The reason for Israel's political fiasco is expressed in a different rhetorical question, which presents the logic of act-consequence (v. 17), but unlike vv. 1-2, where one could suggest two layers based on Masoretic expansion, the presence of בעת מוליכם בדרך here seems a scribal corruption.[100] Another rhetorical question, using a parallelism between Egypt and Assyria (v. 18) makes a telling connection with v. 13 before reintroducing the act-consequence nexus (v. 19) which

[93] Minus
[94] Plus σοι = את.
[95] Plus λεγει κυριος = נאם יהוה.
[96] Minus.
[97] Duhm, *Jeremia*, 16-17; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 16-18.
[98] Other commentaries consider vv. 14-19 a unit. See Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 816-818; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 600-601; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 171-75; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 38-39; Westermann, *Jeremia*, 28. Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 162-66; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 14-15; Weiser, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 18-19; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 81-84.
[99] For Rudolph, the verse was added during King Jehoiakim time when the book was expanded (cf. Jeremiah 36) whilst Bright and Herrmann suggest that it was included after 609 BCE probably because of the death of King Josiah in the battle of Megiddo against pharaoh Neco. See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 14-15; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 14; Herrmann, *Jeremiah*, BKAT XII/2, 130-36. Although McKane agrees that the reference of the defeat in Megiddo was probably within the writer's horizon, he rejects Jeremiah's authorship. See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 37.
[100] After comparing verses 17 and 18, Duhm, Bright, Janzen and McKane attributed this extra line to a scribal mistake. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 23; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 9; Janzen, *Text*, 10; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 38.

concludes unit 14-19. There is also obvious connection with Jer 2:3; however, such linkages should not be taken as evidence that both texts were written by the same hands, as a later redactor could have rearranged the Jeremiah 2 in its current form.[101]

Despite the fact that the political tone in this pericope led some to locate this text before the collapse of the capital,[102] there are strong reasons to believe that this text was written after 587/6 BCE. References to devastation indicate that destruction (וישיתו ארצו לשמה עריו נצתה מבלי ישב) had already taken place (v. 15). Additionally, כפרים is a imagery reworked from older strata (e.g., 4:7 and 5:6); furthermore, the parallel between מצרים and אשור should not be interpreted literally but poetically instead.[103] This political reading, however, is clearly biased, revealing the ideological dimension of discourses about evil, as there is no acknowledgement of the *Realpolitik* during the Assyrian period when it was normal for any small kingdom to become a vassal state of the suzerain empire.[104] Historiography, thereby, is converted into theopolitics, entangling moral and physical/natural evils, in the pen of the writers of prophetic books like Jeremiah, as the political history is re-read retrospectively to vindicate or disseminate a particular religious agenda.[105] Like vv. 5-13, so vv. 14-19 feature Deuteronomistic ideology, but in terms of its literary history it seems

[101] Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 172; Craig et al, *Jeremiah*, 33.
[102] Many commentaries associate the root עבד with Israel's condition as a vassal state as a consequence for breaking of the covenant. See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 14; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 600-601; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 172-75; Craig et al, *Jeremiah*, 31-33; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 37; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 49-51; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 42-43; Lundbom, Jeremiah, vol. 1, 271-74; Jacob Milgrom, 'The Date of Jeremiah 2', *JNES* 14 (1955):65-69. Holladay, Overholt and Hardmeier locate this text during the time of King Zedekiah arguing that this text alludes to the conflict between pro-Egyptians and pro-Babylonian parties. See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 63, 78-79; Thomas W. Overholt, *The Threat of Falsehood: A Study in the Theology of the Book of Jeremiah* (London: SCM Press, 1970), 24-36; Hardmeier, 'Redekomposition', 11-42.
[103] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 129-30; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 36.
[104] See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 128-29; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 1-17; Chan, *Evil*, 3-34.
[105] Yair Hoffman, 'Reflections on the Relationship Between Theopolitics, Prophecy and Historiography', in *Politics and Theopolitics in the Bible and Postbiblical Literature*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, Yair Hoffman and Benjamin Uffenheimer, JSOTSup 171 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 85-99.

older than the former. The notion of act-consequence is already present attributing the political failure to apostasy, but an incipient monotheistic and iconoclastic apologetic is not as developed here as it is in later strata.

Jer 2:20-22

20 כי מעולם שברתי[106] עלך נתקתי[107] מוסרתיך
ותאמרי לא אעבד
כי[108] על־כל־גבעה גבהה
ותחת כל־עץ רענן[109] את צעה[110] זנה
21 ואנכי נטעתיך שרק כלה זרע אמת
ואיך נהפכת לי סורי[111] הגפן נכריה
22 כי אם־תכבסי בנתר ותרבי־לך ברית
נכתם עונך לפני
נאם אדני[112] יהוה

The use of 2.f.s. suggests that vv. 20-22 still belong to the same stratum, but the change of images and the formula נאם אדני יהוה (v. 22) indicate a new unit, linked to the previous one by the conjunction כי (v. 20).[113] Three images are introduced referring to Israel's rebellion: her disobedience is compared to prostitution (v. 20), the degradation of the finest seed (v. 21) and the impossibility of purification of Israel's guilt (v. 22). Even though apostasy is still at the centre, there is not clarity whether such a critique refers to idolatry or Israel's former political alliances. Stulman and Miller maintain the ambiguity regarding the meaning of הבעלים, although they still associate the apostasy in 20-28 with Canaanite fertility cults.[114] Many, likewise, also refer to those religious practice (or false gods), adding sexual religious practices; for

[106] συνετριψας = שבדת.
[107] διεσπασας = ותק.
[108] Plus πορευσομαι.
[109] Plus εκει.
[110] διαχυθησομαι = אתצעה.
[111] εις πικριαν = לסוריה.
[112] Minus.
[113] The Masoretic text has 1c.s. in v. 20, but if one adopts 𝔊 and K, then, the frequency of 2f.s. seems neat cf. McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 40; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 276. Goldman argues that the Masoretic reading reflects theological tensions in relation to other parts of the book (e.g., Jeremiah 27–28). See Yohanan Goldman, 'Crispations Théologiques et Accidents Textuels dans le TM de Jérémie 2', *Bib* 76 (1995):32-34.
[114] Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 51-52; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 601-602.

some of them, Israel's fate is a consequence of breaking the covenant.[115] Part of the problem lies in the fact that they consider vv. 20-28(37) as a unit mixing 2f.s. and non-2f.s. portions. A further complicating factor is the blending of prose and poetry, whose relationship has occupied extensive discussion in Jeremiah scholarship.[116]

Whilst Weippert and Holladay explore the grey area between prose and poetry,[117] this does not give a satisfactory explanation of such remarkable stylistic differences and seems chronologically misplaced. In this regard, Wilson's and Stulman's explanation that prose texts function as a hermeneutical key to interpreting poetical material seems more promising.[118] Along these lines, Herrmann observes that prose insertions appear in vv. 20-28 supplementing poetic sections with information reproving cultic practices.[119] The formulaic phrase כי על־

[115] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 24-27; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 16-17; Weiser, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 19-25; Volz, *Jeremia*, 23-27; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 175-81; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 34-39; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 44-50; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 818-20; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 38; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 277, 280-83; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol, 1, 98, 100-102; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 166-69; Joelle Ferry, *Illusions et Salut dans la Predication Prophetique de Jeremie*, BAZW 269 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1999), 353-54.

[116] Some credit the prose texts in Jeremiah to the historical prophet justifying their resemblance with Deuteronomistic texts on the grounds that both literary bodies were written during the same period between 7th and 6th centuries BCE whilst others propose a Deuteronomistic redaction of Jeremiah. See Bright, 'Date', 15-35; Holladay, 'Prototype', 351-67; Weippert, *Prosareden*, 228-34; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 71-95; Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 44-45.

[117] Weippert suggests the Deuteronomistic section reflects *Kunstprosa* whilst Holladay suggests that Deuteronomistic glosses are a literary device, which balances unity and discontinuity. See Weippert, *Prosareden*, 80; Holladay, 'So-Called', 494-98. Under the premise that vv. 20-25 belongs to the prophet early career and adopting the Masoretic reading, Rom-Shiloni explains the combination of prose and poetry in terms of a rhetorical and literary device (ellipsis) and argues that v. 20 does not refer to the people's rebellion, but their ungratefulness regarding the salvation in Egypt; she also claims that the prophet employs priestly ordeal test (e.g., Num 5:11-31) in the accusation of Israel's infidelity. See Dalit Rom-Shiloni, '"How Can You Say", 'I Am Not Defiled…'? (Jeremiah 2:20-25): Allusion to Priestly Legal Traditions in the Poetry of Jeremiah', *JBL* 133 (2014):757-75.

[118] See Robert R. Wilson, 'Poetry and Prose in the Book of Jeremiah', in *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine*, ed. R. Chazan, W. W. Hallo and L. H. Schiffman (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 413-28; Louis Stulman, 'The Prose Sermons as Hermeneutical Guide to Jeremiah 1–25: The Deconstruction of Judah's Symbolic World', in *Troubling Jeremiah*, ed. A. R. Pete Diamond, Kathleen M. O'Connor and Louis Stulman, JSOTSup 260 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 34-63.

[119] Herrmann, *Jeremiah*, BKAT XII/2, 137-46.

כל גבעה גבהה ותחה כל־עץ רענן (v. 20), for instance, hints at such criticism despite Holladay's optimism in affirming that this phrase originated with Hosea before passing through Deut 12:2 until finally reaching Jeremiah, who eventually standardised it.[120] For Thiel, the phrase is probably an insertion added by a Deuteronomistic editor with the intention of bringing the accusation of idolatry, attributing Israel's political state to the breaching of the abolition of worship in the high places implemented by the Josianic reform.[121] Baumann adds that the term זנה, a component of the Deuteronomistic formula, is an indication of worship of foreign gods.[122] McKane and Carroll agree that the formulaic phrase suits v. 20, but whilst the former argues that its deletion would affect the structure, the latter does not reject the possibility that it could well be a Deuteronomistic addition.[123] Whereas Wanke also argues that v. 20 was edited by a Deuteronomist, he argues its original wording is beyond recovery.[124]

Despite the fact that v. 20 may feature two layers, regardless of whether the phrase was added or not, an alternative could be that the phrase כי על־כל גבעה גבהה ותחה כל־עץ רענן was employed in this specific context to refer to Israel's apostasy without necessarily making allusion to idolatry; in addition to that, the term אהב is also widely employed politically.[125] Thus, if vv. 20-22 meant to continue vv. 14-19, then this unit would appear more likely to be referring to Israel's past political alliances in which evil is employed ideologically. Guilt (עון), the last image in this unit (v. 22), reveals Israel's condition before Yahweh. Using Ricoeur's insight, it reflects a phase of the community's conscious awareness in which the prophetic indictment converts a legal contract between the deity and the people into a personal accusation and appeal; conscience, then, becomes the measure of evil.[126] For

[120] Holladay, 'Hill', 170-76.
[121] Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 82-83.
[122] Baumann, *Liebe*, 119.
[123] See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 41; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 131.
[124] Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 21.
[125] See Thompson, 'Israel's', 475-81; Baumann, *Liebe*, 40.
[126] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 99-102.

Carroll, the symbolism of stain represents the immutable condition of Judah, rendered impotent by the fall of Jerusalem.[127] Based on ancient rabbinic interpretations and the Masoretic addition in 2:1-2, Goldman argues that the contraction between 2:22b and 4:14 no longer applies to all the people but rather Jerusalem alone instead.[128] As mentioned before, vv. 20-22 reflect a political critique without clear reference to idolatry, although religion and state are not separate entities as in most parts of the modern western world. Still, Israel's past political alliances are portrayed as apostasy by the Deuteronomistic writers and Israel's healing cannot be resolved with any washing rituals. According to Klawans, it requires retribution or expiation,[129] which in this case seems a clear reference to the irreversible reality of the exile.

Jer 2:23-25

23 איך תאמרי לא נטמאתי אחרי הבעלים[130] לא הלכתי
ראי דרכך בגיא[131] דעי מה עשית
בכרה קלה[132] משרכת[133] דרכיה
24 פרה למד[134] מדבר באות נפשו שאפה רוח
תאנתה[135] מי ישיבנה
כל־מבקשיה לא ייעפו בחדשה[136] ימצאונה
25 מנעי רגלך מיחף וגורנך מצמאה
ותאמרי נואש לוא[137] כי־אהבתי זרים
ואחריהם אלך

Despite the absence of clear markers, the sudden change of images signals a new unit (vv. 23-25). It begins with a rhetorical question, which cannot be ignored when Israel's footsteps are compared to a young camel's behaviour or that of an uncontrollable wild ass during its heat (vv. 23-24). Yahweh's warning is, then, ignored by the people's

[127] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 131.
[128] Goldman, 'Crispations', 34-37.
[129] Klawans, *Impurity*, 26-31.
[130] της βααλ = הבעל.
[131] εν τω πολυανδριω = קברות?
[132] οψε φωνη αυτης = בכר קלה.
[133] ωλολυξεν # Hebrew variant.
[134] επλατυνεν εφ υδατα # Hebrew variant.
[135] παρεδοθη = נתן.
[136] εν τη ταπεινωσει αυτης = בענתה.
[137] Minus.

persistence in pursuing the love from strangers (v. 25),[138] although their identity is debatable. Apart from הבעלים (v. 23), there is no clear mention of idolatry or iconoclasm in vv. 23-25. Many commentators have interpreted הבעלים not as many gods, but as a reference to a multiplicity of shrines dedicated to Baal and fertility religions before Josiah's reform. Based on 𝔊, some of them even associate the reference of בגיא with the valley of Ben-Hinnon and children's sacrifice to Molech cf. 2 Kgs 23:10.[139] It is important to bear in mind, however, that the development of exclusivist worship was accompanied by a demonisation of Canaanite practices in conjunction with a deconstruction of the continuity with pre-exilic Israel.[140] In a similar way, the Deuteronomists often present a caricaturised description of the Canaanite religion.[141] One may even wonder if such cult prostitution ever existed and consider how stories about sacrifice of children have been widely employed to defame enemies.[142] In this way, since בעל does not always need to be taken as a reference to the Canaanite deity, one could interpret הבעלים just as 'lords/husbands',[143] which fits with Israel's/Judah's vassal status before the superpowers in the broader context of vv. 14-25, whilst Israel's wild attitude (vv. 23-24) resembles ideas that describe evil as some form of inner force, propensity or inclination for evil actions.[144]

[138] ανδριουμαι ἀνδριοῦμαι mistranslates נואש and, based on 𝔊 and 𝔖, McKane and Goldman argue that v. 25 has the sense of Israel's determination to follows her own path. See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 44; Goldman, 'Crispations', 38-40. For Carroll, the idea behind this verse is to avert such troubled path cf. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 133.
[139] See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 16-17; Herrmann, *Jeremiah*, BKAT XII/2, 142-43; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 41-42; Volz, *Jeremia*, 26-27; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 178-79; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 38-39; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 48; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 280-83; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 168.
[140] Gnuse, *Other*, 60.
[141] Levinson, *Deuteronomy*, 148-49.
[142] See Barstad, *Religious*, 21-23; James W. Watts, *Ritual and Rhetoric in Leviticus: From Sacrifice to Scripture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 173-92.
[143] See *DCH* 2:237; *HAL* 142-44.
[144] See Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 102-103; Porter, 'Yeçer', 108-11; Schechter, *Rabbinic*, 258-63; Ricoeur, *Volontaire*, 601-606.

Jer 2:26-28

26 כבשת גגב כי ימצא כן הבישו בית ישראל
המה מלכיהם שריהם וכהניהם ונביאיהם
27 אמרים לעץ[145] אבי אתה ולאבן את ילדתני
כי־פנו אלי ערף ולא פנים
ובעת רעתם יאמרו קומה והושיענו
28 ואיה אלהיך אשר עשית לך
יקומו[146] אם־יושיעוך בעת רעתך
כי מספר עריך היו אלהיך יהודה[147]
ס

Commentaries diverge in terms of the segmentation after v. 20, the borders of the new unit are not determined by the presence of oracular formulas but by the frequency of non-2f.s. between vv. 26-28. The presence of ס after v. 28 in the Masoretic text alongside the introduction of another rhetorical question signals the beginning of a new unit, but more decisive is the sapiencial feature in v. 26 based on daily experience (e.g., Prov 27:19; Psa 1:3), as can also be noticed in the Greek version.

Still, vv. 26-28 underwent perceptible editorial modifications. Since the prose phrase המה מלכיהם שריהם וכהניהם ונביאיהם (v. 26) interrupts the poetic flow in the first unit, one may suggest two layers in which the original one did not include this prose expansion.[148] Although this supplementation echoes the strong criticism against all leadership in v. 8, making them responsible for the current state,[149] the central critique is still against idolatry. There is a sense of corporate responsibility,

[145] Plus οτι.
[146] ει = אם.
[147] Plus και κατ αριθμον διοδων της Ιερουσαλημ εθυον τη βααλ = ומספר חצות ירושלם קטרו לבעל.
[148] Duhm and Thiel already noticed this editorial intervention, but the latter explicitly credited it to the Deuteronomistic redactor. Herrmann also argued that v. 26b belong to Jeremiah's prose tradition. These arguments are also accepted by Wanke and Carroll. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 27-29; Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 83; Herrmann, *Jeremiah*, BKAT XII/2, 147; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 42-43; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 135-36.
[149] Tiemeyer argues that this leadership is a professional class comparable to those pre-exilic groups, but as v. 26 is clearly a retrospective perspective of history, it intends to portray all Judahite authorities as those accountable for the idolatry, which led to the fall of Jerusalem. See Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, 'The Priests and the Temple Cult in the Book of Jeremiah', in *Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah*, ed. Hans M. Barstad and Reinhard G. Kratz, BZAW 388 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2009), 248-49.

which features one of the characteristics of Deuteronomic rhetoric,[150] in such accountability on part of the whole leadership, as the leaders are held liable for their actions. Yahweh does not relate to independent individuals, but rather to the nation in its integrity, holding each individual of the society to some level of accountability for the faults of any other person of the community. Not only were individuals responsible for one's own correct conduct, but they must also actively prevent others from sinning.[151] Most scholars consider the wood/tree and stone as some form of worship deviating from Yahwism (e.g., numina or a reference to Canaanite religions) and no one questions that the stone refers to a male deity whilst the wood/three concerns Asherah. In v. 27 their gender was satirically inverted with the intention of ridiculing Israel for not being able to make the distinction![152] Olyan argues that the confession in v. 27 is rather a satirical criticism against Yahweh and his consort Asherah than a criticism against the Canaanite religious practices, but the normal belief in pre-exilic Israel that Yahweh had a wife was strongly rejected by the Deuteronomistic ideology.[153] As argued by McKane, the idol's inability to rescue Israel during critical times led the people to cry for Yahweh's help.[154] Like in the last days of Ugarit, when it went through noteworthy turbulence

[150] See Dale Patrick, 'The Rhetoric of Collective Responsibility in Deuteronomic Law', in *Pomegranates Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, ed. David R. Wright, David Noel Freedman and Avi Hurvitz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 421-36.
[151] See Joel S. Kaminsky, *Corporate Responsibility in the Hebrew Bible*, JSOTSup 196 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 11.
[152] Some of them even attempt to relate such a criticism to the Josianic reforms. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 28-29; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 16-17; Volz, *Jeremia*, 28-29; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 92; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 179-80; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 39; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 284-86; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 49; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 103-105.
[153] Saul M. Olyan, 'The Cultic Confessions of Jeremiah 2,27a', *ZAW* 99 (1987):254-59. Olyan's arguments support the idea that the goddess Asherah was Yahweh's companion during the pre-exilic Israel and are also confirmed by several inscriptions covering an extensive period. See Binger, *Asherah*,141; Emerton, '"Yahweh"', 334-35; Smith, *Origins*, 41-47; Dijkstra, 'Asherah', 44; Gilmour, 'Asherah', 100. Whilst Herrmann does not completely discard Olyan's argument, he still finds space for a syncretism between Yahwism and Canaanite religious practices, including local family cults and some Assyrian influences before the Josianic reform. See Herrmann, *Jeremiah*, BKAT XII/2, 148-49.
[154] McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 48-49.

leading its population to shift the worship from El to Baal,[155] the experience of the exile also may have influenced the Deuteronomistic scribes who now monopolised a great part of the religious discourse to create a narrative of discontinuity between pre-exilic polytheistic religious practices in ancient Israel to an incipient form of monotheism (including iconoclastic criticism). Nevertheless, this discourse suggests a relatively late literary phase.[156] Another editorial trace can be found in v. 28, but in this case, it was expanded in 𝔊-Jeremiah, whereas its Hebrew counterpart normally enlarges the text.[157]

Jer 2:29-32

29 למה תריבו אלי
כלכם פשעתם בי[158]
נאם־יהוה
30 לשוא הכיתי את־בניכם
מוסר לא לקחו[159]
אכלה חרבכם[160] נביאיכם
כאריה משחית
31 הדור אתם[161] ראו[162] דבר־יהוה[163]
המדבר הייתי לישראל אם ארץ מאפליה[164]
מדוע אמרו עמי[165] רדנו[166] לוא־נבוא עוד אליך
32 התשכח בתולה עדיה כלה קשריה
ועמי שכחוני ימים אין מספר

A rhetorical question opens a new unit closing in v. 32, as indicated by the change to 2.f.s., although the presence of a new heading הדור

[155] See De Moor, 'Theodicy', 110-14.
[156] Middlemas argues that the fact that polemic passages in Deutero-Isaiah, Jeremiah and Habakkuk mock worship of idols strongly suggests that the writers behind these texts were familiar with cultic dramas relating to divine images common in ANE cultic practices; for instance, Hab 2:19 and Isa 46:6-7 demonstrate the author's rhetorical skills, which was not a misunderstanding of the Mesopotamian rituals but in fact a confrontation regarding their efficacy. See Middlemas, *Divine*, 27-33. Köckert, in addition, suggests that the ban of images derived from a late phase in Deuteronomy 5 and Exodus 20 cf. Köckert, 'Formlessness', 36-40.
[157] Janzen suggests that 𝔊-Jer 2:28 was expanded from 11:13, but even if that is the case, 11:13 by itself is already an expansion cf. Janzen, *Text*, 121.
[158] και παντες υμεις ηνομησατε εις εμε = כלכם פשעתם בי.
[159] ουκ εδεξασθε = לא לקחכם.
[160] μαχαιρα = חרב.
[161] και ουκ εφοβηθητε = ירא.
[162] ακουσατε = שמעו.
[163] Plus ταδε λεγει κυριος = כה אמר יהוה.
[164] κεχερσωμενη = אבל.
[165] Plus ου = לא.
[166] ου κυριευθησομεθα = רדה.

אתם ראו דבר־יהוה interrupts the natural course of the poem (v. 31).[167] As in the previous units, the quotations operate as a rhetorical apparatus to sustain the speaker's argument, but למה תריבו אלי (v. 29) quotes the people reversing Yahweh's accusation ריב, as presented in v. 9. Apparently, the discipline imposed on the people was ineffective, as they even executed the prophets (v. 30). The question asked by the people in v. 6 is now queried by the deity in the words המדבר הייתי לישראל אם ארץ מאפליה challenging their apostasy as referred to in another quotation (v. 31b). A new simile in which the parallel between a young girl and a bride, contrasting Israel's apostasy, is now introduced (v. 32). Although it is unimaginable that both would forget their accessories, the people still forgot their god. The fact that this is the only explicit reference about a bride in Jeremiah 2 (except for Jer 2:2) undermines the imposition of the marriage metaphor upon the whole chapter and reinforces the fact that this image is just one amongst many employed to illustrate the issue of apostasy. Some interpret the reference to the killing of prophets according to the narrative sections in Jeremiah (e.g., Jer 26:20-24), but Goldman suggests that its meaning according to the Greek version possibly conveys the people's punishment in general and only after the Masoretic final touches did it incorporated the idea of the killing of the prophets.[168] The beatification of the prophets, nevertheless, reflects a late literary phenomenon.[169]

[167] Duhm, Janzen and McKane considers הדור אתם ראו דבר־יהוה a scribal borderline comment, which was brought into the text. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 30-31; Janzen, *Text*, 133; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 51. Van Der Wal, however, suggests that 31a concludes vv. 26-28, but Lundbom argues that this phrase usually appears as an introduction; thereby, he divides vv. 29-32 into two oracles. See A. J. O. Van Der Wal, 'Jeremiah II 31: A Proposal', *VT* 41 (1991):360-63; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 291. Whilst Carroll and Craig et al. admit that the phrase represents a later insertion, Carroll claims that it has the function of addressing the speech to the communal worshipers, expecting them to respond the homily, which has been transmitted through generations cf. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 137-38; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 41.

[168] Goldman, 'Crispations', 40-42.

[169] Rudolph and Thompson even try to relate it to King Manasseh's massacre cf. 2 Kgs 21:16. Holladay and Lundbom, likewise, also associate such killings to King Jehoiakim. See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 18-19; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 182-83. But Craig et al. correctly point out the contrast between vv. 8 and 30. See Craig et al., *Jeremiah*,

Jer 2:33-37

33 מה־תיטבי דרכך לבקש אהבה לכן[170] גם את־הרעות למדתי[171] את־דרכיך
34 גם בכנפיך[172] נמצאו דם נפשות אביונים[173] נקיים
לא־במחתרת מצאתים כי על־כל־אלה
35 ותאמרי כי[174] נקיתי אך שב אפו ממני
הנני נשפט אותך על־אמרך לא חטאתי
36 מה־תזלי מאד לשנות את־דרכך
גם ממצרים תבושי כאשר־בשת מאשור
37 גם[175] מאת זה תצאי וידיך על־ראשך
כי־מאס יהוה במבטחיך
ולא תצליחי להם

Even though vv. 33-37 lack evident pointers, this unit can still be established by a shift to 2.f.s. alongside its content, which differs from vv. 29-32, since vv. 33-37 resume the topic of theopolitics. As argued earlier, Israel's search for love should not be interpreted as seeking for other gods but as a criticism of her past political alliances instead (cf. vv. 36-37).[176] As mentioned above, the term אהבה is also employed here

40; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 79; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 289-90. Duhm is uncertain whether a specific occasion can be identified cf. Duhm, *Jeremia*, 30. What is interesting, however, is the fact that late texts, such as Neh 9:26, mentions the killing of the prophets more explicitly. See Herrmann, *Jeremiah*, BKAT XII/2, 154. It, thereby, has been argued that only during the postexilic period the term נביא was adopted with reference to individuals with different titles during their lifespan. See A. Graeme Auld, 'Prophets Through the Looking Glass: Between Writings and Moses', *JSOT* 27 (1983):3-23. Another intriguing point observed by Bogaert is the tendency of 𝔐-Jeremiah to add titles, such as נביא, דפר and מלך, comparing the addition of these titles with the New Testament canonisation phenomenon of the term κυριος with reference to Jesus cf. Bogaert, 'Baruch', 168-73.

[170] ουχ ουτως = לא כן.

[171] του μιαναι # Hebrew variant.

[172] και εν ταις χερσιν σου = בכפיך.

[173] Minus.

[174] Minus.

[175] Plus οτι.

[176] Like vv. 20-25, many commentators relate these verses to fertility cults. See Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 184-87; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 43-46; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 295. Some of them suggest that vv. 33-37 were composed during Zedekiah due to the allusion of Egypt and Assyria. See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 63, 78-79; Overholt, *Threat*, 24-36; Hardmeier, 'Redekomposition', 11-42; Milgrom, 'Date', 65-69. Others also associate the killing of innocents with King Manasseh killing of the prophets cf. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 18-19; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 44-45; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 175. Wanke interprets vv. 36-37 as a political critique against Israel's past political coalitions cf. Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 45-46. Volz, however, captures the subtlety in which alliances with the superpowers imply accepting their gods cf. Volz, *Jeremia*, 30-32. As Becking states, Assyrian incursions in Samaria also resulted in worship of other Mesopotamian gods introduced by settlers cf. Becking, 'Gods', 161-62. Whilst one should not assume the modern sharp division between religion and politics, one may argue that a clear development of a speech involving an emerging monotheism appears only at a later literary phase. In this sense, Hoffman's

for political union.[177] Israel's reprehensible behaviour, to the point of qualifying herself to teach wicked women could be compared to Israel and Judah in 3:6-11, although in this example Judah is considered worse than Israel. The image of stained clothes (v. 34) echoes v. 22 and, like, vv. 14-25, no references are made to the issue of idolatry. Moral evil here (חטא), denied by Israel, concerns social injustice (vv. 34-35) and one may even speculate whether the heavy tributes paid to Israel's overlords (Egypt and Assyria) were interpreted by the Deuteronomists as the cause of such social injustice; therefore, in the same manner as vv. 14-19, Israel's politics is condemned in vv. 36-37. In her attempts to apply the ideational development of the so-called 'Deuteronomistic writings' to Jeremiah, Joo argues that there is a clear pattern of act-consequence in both literary corpses; she argues that in the earlier phase there is a tendency to associate a range of punitive agents (e.g., foreign nations, natural elements, etc) as a consequence of the people's own sin, whereas in the later stage disaster is more explicitly attributed to God's action.[178] The idea that the people's current circumstance is a consequence of their own actions is commonly expressed by phrases such as הלוא־זאת תעשה־לך עזבך את־יהוה אלהיך and תיסרך רעתך ומשבותיך תוכחך ודעי וראי כי־רע ומר עזבך את־יהוה אלהיך (vv. 17, 19).

(b) Call for Repentance

As already pinpointed in Ricoeur's network of symbols of evil, the notions of redemption and purification play a supplementary role

distinction between existence and potency of other gods is instructive because it detect some nuances in biblical texts, as some of them challenge their ability to help Israel without denying their existence, adding that only later texts moves toward a more structured 'monotheistic' discourse. See Yair Hoffman, 'The Concept of "Other Gods" in the Deuteronomistic Literature', in *Politics and Theopolitics in the Bible and Postbiblical Literature*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, Yair Hoffman and Benjamin Uffenheimer, JSOTSup 171 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 66-84.

[177] See Thompson, 'Israel's', 475-81; Baumann, *Liebe*, 40.

[178] Joo, *Provocation*, 225-30.

which is fundamental to the understanding of the ideas of sin and purification.[179] Whereas the focus of 2:5-37 is on the theme of apostasy, the topic of 3:1-25 shifts to the call for repentance (שוב) and vv. 3:1-5, in particular, function as a juncture between both subjects.[180] Despite a clear continuity between Jeremiah 2 and 3, a comparison between them reveals that chapter 3 contains more prose than the previous chapter, so challenges the assumption of a single authorship.

Jer 3:1-5

1 לאמר[181] הן ישלח איש את־אשתו והלכה מאתו והיתה לאיש־אחר
הישוב[182] אליה עוד
הלוא חנוף תחנף הארץ[183] ההיא
ואת זנית רעים רבים
ושוב אלי
נאם־יהוה
2 שאי־עיניך על־שפים וראי
איפה לא שגלת
על־דרכים ישבת להם כערבי במדבר
ותחניפי ארץ בזנותיך וברעתך
3 וימנעו רבבים[184] ומלקוש לוא היה
ומצח אשר זונה היה לך מאנת הכלם[185]
4 הלוא מעתה[186] קראתי[187] לי[188] אבי אלוף נערי אתה
5 הינטר לעולם אם־ישמר לנצח
הנה דברתי ותעשי הרעות[189] ותוכל
פ

The delimitation of unit 3:1-5 is indicated by the presence of לאמר (possibly inserted as marker) and פ in 𝔐L-Jeremiah (vv. 1, 5), but even without these pointers the limits of the pericope are identifiable by the introduction of the divorce law and the shift to a long prose (vv. 1 and

[179] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 72-82.
[180] See Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 101; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 183; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 142.
[181] Minus.
[182] μη ανακαμπτουσα ανακαμψει = השוב ישוב.
[183] η γυνη # Hebrew variant.
[184] ποιμενας πολλους = רעים רב.
[185] απηναισχυντησας προς παντας = מכלם.
[186] ως οικον = מעון.
[187] με = לי.
[188] εκαλεσας = קראתי.
[189] Plus ταυτα.

6ff.).[190] Significant challenges involving textual variations, however, make it difficult to decide between 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah.[191] Whilst the similarity between 𝔐-Jer 3:1 and Deut 24:1-4 may reflect the scribe's exegetical harmonisation, suggesting that the Greek text was probably the original reading, the reverse seems the case regarding γυνη (v. 2) because the pollution of the land (γη) is a consequence of women's moral defilement, but things get more complicated in terms of רעים רבים and εν ποιμεσιν πολλοις, as the latter reflects a different vocalisation.[192] But since the language of love in 2:14-25 and 33-37 occurs within a political context, there is space for ambiguity, as רעה can also be interpreted as a ruler/leader.[193] Either case is still considered prostitution (ואת זנית), which is a clear allusion to the issue of apostasy. Some have noticed the use of shocking language of sexual violence against Israel (שגלת) and suggests that the rapists could be a reference to Baal;[194] however, it would make more sense to identify them with the superpowers, who for a long time have abused Israel.[195] The presence of such an alarming image, however, clashes with modern perspectives, particularly during times of significant awareness against the rape culture and domestic violence, throwing into relief ancient assumptions.[196]

[190] Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 183. Rudolph, Bright, Lundbom and Craig et al. reconstructs it as ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי לאמר. See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 20; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 19; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 300; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 50.
[191] As argued by Norton, in many cases involving textual plurality, the interface between writing and orality blurred the distinction between authors, copyists, revisionists and transmitters of Jewish texts because each of them has participation in the shape of such textual diversity. See Jonathan Norton, *Contours in the Text: Textual Variations in the Writings of Paul, Josephus and Yaḥad*, LNTS 430 (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2011), 102-20.
[192] See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 20; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 58.
[193] See *DCH* 7:517; *HAL* 1259; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 142.
[194] Baumann, *Liebe*, 123-30; Moughtin-Murphy, *Sexual*, 103-104.
[195] Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 129. Chapman does not reject that the lovers included foreign gods but adds that the punishment for Israel's prostitution manifested in form of military assaults cf. Chapman, *Gendered*, 112-17.
[196] See Angela Bauer, *Gender in the Book of Jeremiah: A Feminist-Literary Reading*, SBLit 5 (New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1999), 52-61, 161-63; Else K. Holt, '"The Stain of Your Guilt is Still Before me": (Jeremiah 2:22): (Feminist) Approaches to Jeremiah 2 and the Problem of Normativity', in *Prophecy and Power: Jeremiah in Feminist and Postcolonial Perspective*, ed. Christl M. Maier and Carolyn J. Sharp, LHBOTS 577 (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 101-16; Mary E. Shields,

Shared ideas between 3:2-5 and 2:5-37, however, have led some scholars to claim that these texts are in continuity.[197] Based on the views that Jeremiah 3 belongs to the prophet's early career, some argue that under Hosea's influence the prophet spoke against the fertility cults,[198] but despite clear reference to Israel's idolatry illustrated by the image of a prostitute waiting to sell herself like Bedouin merchants by the roads (e.g., Genesis 38; Prov 7:10-27),[199] there are no linguistic grounds to attribute על־שפים to high places.[200] Hobbs even questions that the prophet was familiar with a Deuteronomistic law, arguing that divorce laws alongside other regulations were known before they had being incorporated within the Deuteronomistic laws; based on the discrepancies between 𝔊- and 𝔐-Jeremiah, he argues that it is possible that divorce law developed independently in Deuteronomy and wisdom tradition, adding that the meaning of תורה in the poetic section differs from its sense in the prose portion. He suggests that as Jeremiah employs this law combined with rhetorical questions, it is more likely that the prophet was aligned with wisdom traditions.[201] A different route is taken by Rom-Shiloni, who argues that the prophet was

'Circumcision of the Prostitute: Gender, Sexuality, and the Call to Repentance in Jeremiah 3:1–4:4', *BI* 3 (1995):61-74; —, *Circumscribing the Prostitute: The Rhetorics of Intertextuality, Metaphor and Gender in Jeremiah 3:1–4:4*, JSOTSup 387 (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 67-73; Paul M. Joyce, 'A Rebirth of Images: Theme and Motif in Jeremiah and Ezekiel', in *Images of Exile in Prophetic Literature: Copenhagen Conference Proceedings 7–10 May 2017*, ed. Jesper Høgenhaven, Frederik Poulsen and Cian Power, FAT 103 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 94-95; Baumann, *Liebe*, 130-33; Moughtin-Murphy, *Sexual*, 13-16.

[197] E.g., Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 66; S. A. Kauffman, 'Rhetoric, Redaction, and Message in Jeremiah', in Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel, ed. J. Neusner, B. A., Levine and E. S. Frerichs (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1987), 67-72; Maria Häusl, *Bilder der Not: Weiblichkeit- und Geschlechtermetaphorik im Buch Jeremia*, HBS 37 (Freiburg, Herder, 2003), 335-37; Hildebrandt, *Interpreting*, 197-99.

[198] See Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 823-24; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 54-55; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol.1, 102-104; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 51-52. Bright and Thompson even locate the oracle right after the Josianic reform cf. Bright, *Jeremiah*, 26; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 188-92.

[199] See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 21; Volz, *Jeremia*, 36-37; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 63; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 603; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 302; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol., 1, 186; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 49; Baumann, *Liebe*, 119-20.

[200] William McKane, 'Spy(y)m with Special Reference to the Book of Jeremiah', in *Melanges Bibliques et Orientaux en L'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, ed. Henri Cazelles, André Caquot and M. Delcor, AOAT 212 (Neukirchen-Vluyn and Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 319-35.

[201] T. R. Hobbs, 'Jeremiah 3_{1-5} and Deuteronomy 24_{1-4}', *ZAW* 86 (1974):23-29.

actually familiar with Pentateuchal traditions as early as the 6th century BCE; she also resists the attribution of the prose material to the Deuteronomists on the grounds that Pentateuchal traditions share similar language.[202]

Whilst the influence of wisdom tradition in Jeremiah is recognised, the argument that these verses belong to Jeremiah's early ministry is weak, as the theological development of repentance corresponds to a later unfolding of Deuteronomistic theology. Also, the fact that it is likely that Jer 3:1-4 reworks Deut 24:1-4 should not be generalised in terms of the relationship between both literary bodies. Things seem more complex because there could have been a mutual influence between the Pentateuchal and prophetical writings over the course of their growth.[203] Additionally, תורה (2:8) is already part of a late layer and even though 3:1-5 is closer to Jeremiah 3 than 2, these verses do presume the existence of at least part of 2:5-37, developing its ideas further. Moreover, the fact that these verses do not always employ the exact same wording as Jeremiah 2, but synonyms instead, puts into question the argument of direct continuity between both chapters. In this manner, 3:1-5, works as an introduction to chapter 3,[204] but unlike 2:1-3, which was composed as a prologue, the tradition of 3:6-25 seems to have been generated from 3:1-5.[205] Accordingly, the marriage metaphor was effectively employed for the first time only in 3:1-5 with

[202] Dalit Rom-Shiloni, 'Actualisation of Pentateuchal Traditions in Jeremiah: More on the Riddle of Authorship', *ZABR/JANEBL* 15 (2009):254-81.
[203] Konrad Schmid, 'The Prophets after the Law or the Law after the Prophets? Terminological, Biblical, and Historical Perspectives', in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel and North America*, eds. Jan C. Gertz et al. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 841-50.
[204] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 32-33; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 20-21; Biddle, *Redaction*, 116-18; Shields, *Circumscribing*, 3-16; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 185; Popko, *Marriage*, 372-73.
[205] Because of symmetrical features some have proposed a reconstruction of the poem in Jeremiah 3 divided into two portions before the insertion of two prose sections. See David Jobling, 'Jeremiah's Poem in III 1 – IV 2', *VT* 28 (1978):45-55. A number of inconsistencies, however, challenge this alleged poetic unit. It seems that the complex of Jeremiah 3 has grown out of 3:1-5. See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 77; Biddle, *Redaction*, 107-15.

the mention of Deut 24:1-4.[206] Yet Hosea and Jeremiah employ the marriage metaphor in opposite directions, as the former emphasises Yahweh's gracious character whilst the reference to the Deuteronomic law leads to the conclusion that this reunion is impossible;[207] for this reason, Craig and his colleagues argue that it is unlikely that Jeremiah was dependent on Hosea.[208] The inability of such reunion is evidenced by ושוב אלי, which despite the absence of the interrogative particle and the imperative from the Greek translators, should be interpreted as a loaded question, expecting a negative answer.[209] Although it is true that both prophets use the metaphor diametrically, one cannot discard that the writer could have a relative freedom to adapt older traditions accordingly to his own theological agenda and in this manner Jeremiah by no means is obliged to reproduce Hosea's marriage metaphor in exactly the same way.[210]

Nevertheless, the notion of retribution emerges again in the form of irony, as the fertility cult is unable to provide rain (vv. 2-3). The woman's moral impurity, an adumbration of Israel's apostate behaviour, contaminates the land (ותחניפי ארץ בזנותיך וברעתך) resulting in drought (וימנעו רבבים ומלקוש לוא היה), but despite that, Israel shows no signs of embarrassment (ומצח אשר זונה היה לך מאנת הכלם).[211] Two other sarcastic rhetorical questions appear (vv. 4-5) confronting the people's appeal to Yahweh, which the pair אבי אלוף probably has the idea of a teacher, during times of hardship without any indication of regret.[212]

[206] Jer 2:2 is an introduction, which already assumes the existence of 2:5–3:1-5, and the occurrence in 2:32 is only casual aiming to illustrate the absurdity of the people forgetting their god.
[207] See Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 102; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 142-43.
[208] Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 51.
[209] See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 59; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 301; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 49.
[210] See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 142-43; Biddle, *Redaction*, 202-205. In this sense, Moughtin-Murphy argues that Jeremiah has its own distinctive sexual and marital vocabulary cf. Moughtin-Murphy, *Sexual*, 90.
[211] See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 25; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 604; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 193; Craig et al, *Jeremiah*, 52; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 44; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol., 1, 185-86; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 143; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 49.
[212] McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 61.

Jer 3:6-11

6 ויאמר יהוה אלי בימי יאשיהו המלך הראית אשר עשתה[213] משבה[214] ישראל
הלכה היא על־כל־הר גבה ואל־תחת כל־עץ רענן ותזני־שם 7 ואמר אחרי עשותה
את־כל־אלה אלי תשוב ולא־שבה ותראה בגודה[215] אחותה[216] יהודה 8 וארא כי
על־כל־אדות אשר[217] נאפה משבה[218] ישראל שלחתיה ואתן[219] את־ספר כריתתיה
אליה[220] ולא יראה בגדה יהודה אחותה[221] ותלך ותזן גם־היא 9 והיה מקל זנותה
ותחנף[222] את־הארץ[223] ותנאף את־האבן ואת־העץ 10 וגם־בכל־זאת לא־שבה אלי
בגודה אחותה[224] יהודה בכל־לבה כי אם־בשקר נאם־יהוה[225] פ 11 ויאמר יהוה
אלי צדקה נפשה משבה[226] ישראל מבגדה יהודה

Despite Volz's suggestion that 3:6-11 reflect a dialogue between Yahweh and Jeremiah,[227] most commentators consider this first large prose section within Jeremiah 2–6 a monologue. Compared to the Greek text, the Masoretic version tends to add extra details, such as אהותה, ותחנף את־הארץ, נאם־יהוה and משבה (vv. 7-11), which indicates exegetical traces. The speaker locates the monologue within Josiah's time and after comparing Israel with Judah, it argues that the southern kingdom did not learn anything from the fate of the northern kingdom, making Judah even worse. The reference of God involved in polygamous marital relationship clashes with the modern moral standards, at least within the western world, but such a moral judgment should not be imposed to the ancient world since polygamy was accepted within that milieu.[228]

[213] Plus μοι.
[214] η κατοικια = ישב.
[215] την ασυνθεδιαν αυτης η ασυνθετος = בגודה.
[216] Minus.
[217] ων κατελημφθη is probably a doublet. + εν οις ενοιχατο = אשר נאפה cf. Ziegler, *Beiträge*, 93.
Plus εν οις = אשר.
[218] η κατοικια = ישב.
[219] Plus αυτη.
[220] εις τας κειρας αυτης = בידה.
[221] Minus.
[222] Minus.
[223] Minus.
[224] Minus.
[225] Minus.
[226] Minus.
[227] Volz, *Jeremia*, 44.
[228] Kalmannofsky observes some share patriarchal characteristics between ancient Israel and English Victorian families cf. Amy Kalmannofsky, 'Dangerous Sisters of Jeremiah and Ezekiel', *JBL* 130 (2011):299-312. Yet this comparison is as far as it can get, as on top of the hierarchical relationship, though there were some cases of

Although the marriage metaphor is expanded here, the introduction of the parable of the two sisters is clearly a secondary expansion loaned from Ezekiel 16 and 23 (not Hosea). Nonetheless, some have minimised the shift from poetry to prose rejecting the association of the latter with a Deuteronomistic editor and even speculate that the present shape in prose might be a result of the conversion from oral to writing tradition (cf. Jeremiah 36); for them, this monologue is rooted in the Hoseanic legacy, preparing the prophet to deliver the words to the northern kingdom and the comparison between both kingdoms reflected that the Josianic reform was not deep enough. They also justify the affinities with Ezekiel with the argument that this prophet was dependent on Jeremiah and the fact that they take the mention of king Josiah at face value consequently so forcing them to locate these verses within the prophet's early days.[229]

There are serious problems with these arguments, as they downplay significant stylistic shifts, most obvious of which is the change from poetry to prose, but also the clear distinction between Israel and Judah alongside didactic features condemning idolatry and the presence of whore in the vocabulary to censure such practices. Additionally, the literary construction of the characters Jeremiah and Ezekiel should not be underestimated besides the fact that references to king Josiah within Jeremiah often appear in secondary material, which many scholars have previously attributed to the Deuteronomistic redaction in different ways.[230] Despite some attempts to place Jeremiah within Ephraimite

equal relation, marriages also serve to provide for the whole extended family. See Baumann, *Liebe*, 49-50.

[229] See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 21; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 26-27; Unterman, *Repentance*, 26-28; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 194-97; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 53-55; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 308. Although Allen accepts the redactional nature of the prose section of 3:6-11, he still considers part of this unit addressed to the northern kingdom and also argues for Ezekiel's dependency on early prophets cf. Allen, *Jeremiah*, 55-56.

[230] Despite that some scholars consider a small kernel authentic, they often credit most of vv. 6-11 somehow related to the Deuteronomistic editorial activity. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 36-38; Mowinckel, *Komposition*, 42-43; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 825-26; Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 89-92; Stulman, *Prose*, 57-58; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 604-604. This is one of the few instances in which Holladay accepts the possibility of a Deuteronomistic influence. See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 117-18. Kauffman does not mention Deuteronomism, but he does recognise the secondary nature of vv. 6-10,

traditions in line with Hosea and Amos,[231] to a great extent these efforts tend to border on biographical approach. Affinities between Jeremiah and Ezekiel have led some to suggest that the former went through a redaction under the influence of the latter.[232] A hermeneutic of suspicion may suggest an ideological agenda behind this pericope, as some scholars have proposed an exilic-oriented redaction of Jeremiah,[233] although the case here seems somewhat the reverse. This text is not biased towards Judah but favours Israel instead. As known, the exile resulted in a sociological schism.[234] One could speculate that the hidden agenda behind vv. 6-11 may reflect the Judean voices of those who were left in the land during the Persian period.

Jer 3:12-13

12 חלך וקראת את־הדברים האלה צפונה ואמרה
שובה[235] משבה[236] ישראל
נאם־יהוה
לוא־אפיל פני בכם
כי־חסיד אני
נאם־יהוה
לא אטור[237] לעולם
13 אד דעי עונך כי ביהוה אלהיך פשעת
ותפזרי את־דרכיך לזרים תחת כל־עץ רענן ובקולי לא־שמעתם
נאם־יהוה

suggesting that it represents an early example of *pesher* within Jeremianic material and is similar to early haggadic poems in the midrashim cf. Kauffman, 'Rhetoric', 70.

[231] Wilson, *Prophecy*, 231-51; De Winkel, *Jeremiah*, 6. Huffmon, however, finds it difficult to present Jeremiah in geographical terms, although he does not deny the existence of an Ephraimite tradition cf. Herbert B. Huffmon, 'Jeremiah of Anathoth: A Prophet for all Israel', in *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine,* ed. R. Chazan et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 261-71. Rom-Shiloni partially accepts the influence of Ezekiel on Jeremiah arguing for a complex interrelation between different strata of both books marked by distinctive ideologies. See Dalit Rom-Shiloni, 'Ezekiel and Jeremiah: What might Stand Behind the Silence?' *HeBAI* 1 (2012):203-30.

[232] See D. Vieweger, 'Die Arbeit des jeremianischen Schülerkreises am Jeremiabuch und deren Rezepzion in der literarischen Überlieferung der Prophetenschrift Ezekiels', *BZ* 32 (1988):15-34; Collins, *Mantle*, 114; Popko, *Marriage*, 66-68. Carroll finds little use of Deuteronomistic vocabulary, arguing that the author misinterpreted the divorce relating it to the northern Israel and suggests that the reference to King Josiah is an indication of a very late redaction cf. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 145.

[233] See Pohlmann, *Studien*, 184ff; Seitz, *Conflict*, 1-5.

[234] See Rom-Shiloni, 'Group', 46; Sharp, *Prophecy*, 157.

[235] Plus προς με.

[236] η κατοικια = ישב.

[237] Plus υμιν.

The presence of a new rubric הלך וקראת את־הדברים האלה צפונה ואמרה alongside the oracular formula נאם־יהוה (vv. 12-13) delimit a new unit, where there is a certain ambiguity regarding the term שוב because it allows the ideas of a geographical return and repentance.[238] Nevertheless, despite the fact that some have argued that this poem was originally addressed to the former northern kingdom during the time of the Josianic expansions,[239] the notably hopeful tone לוא־אפיל פני בכם כי־ חסיד אני... לא אטור לעולם compared to the dark colours of the previous sections so far, strongly suggests a completely different historical moment. Additionally, suggestions that שוב (v. 12) may be a spatial reference addressed to the northern kingdom are contested by אך דעי עונך כי ביהוה אלהיך פשעת ותפזרי את־דרכיך לזרים תחת כל־עץ רענן ובקולי לא־ שמעתם (v. 13).[240] Not only did this make the idea of repentance more likely, but it also anticipates the conversion of the words of doom into hope, which comes with full force in Jeremiah 30–31(33) where the constructive task of the prophetic mission is fully explored (לבנות ולנטוע) cf. 1:10.[241]

[238] Duhm, *Jeremia*, 38-39.

[239] Lohfink proposed that Jeremiah 30–31 reflect the words of the young prophet captivated by the Josianic expansions, which aimed to annex the former northern kingdom. See Lohfink, 'Propagandist', 351-68. Close associations of the words of hope in Jeremiah 3 and 30–31 have led some to suggest that 3:12-13 were originally addressed to the northern kingdom before their incorporation in the current form which now readdresses the words to the Judean exiles. See Volz, *Jeremia*, 44-47; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 23; Albertz, 'Frühzeitverkündigung', 20-47; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 199-200; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 118; Böhler, 'Geschlechterdifferenz', 91-127; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 310-11; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 57; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 56; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 45; Sweeney, 'Structure', 200-18; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 604; Leuchter, *Josiah's*, 87-110; Stipp, 'Verfasserschaft', 188.

[240] See Pohlmann, *Ferne*, 120-27; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 69; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1; 147-48.

[241] For Biddle, rather than continuity with 3:1-5, the recycling of these words reflects an imitation in which the writer of these verses uses them as the basis for the formulation of his theology of repentance cf. Biddle, *Redaction*, 109-14. Along similar lines, Applegate argues that redactors employed different procedures to incorporate hopeful material within the book, which includes the reuse of oracles applied to new circumstances, in a way that attempt to maintain the consistency of the book. See John Applegate, 'Peace, Peace, When there is No Peace', in *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception*, ed. A. H. W. Curtis and T. Römer, BETL 128 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 51-85.

Jer 3:14-18

14 שובו בנים שובבים
נאם־יהוה
כי אנכי בעלתי בכם
ולקחתי אתכם אחד מעיר ושנים ממשפחה והבאתי אתכם ציון
15 ונתתי לכם רעים כלבי ורעו אתכם דעה והשביל 16 והיה כי תרבו ופריתם
בארץ בימים ההמה נאם־יהוה לא־יאמרו עוד ארון ברית־יהוה ולא יעלה על־לב
ולא יזכרו־בו ולא יפקדו ולא יעשה עוד 17 בעת[242] ההיא יקראו לירושלם כסא
יהוה ונקוו אליה כל־הגוים לשם[243] יהוה[244] לירושלם[245] ולא־ילכו עוד אחרי
שררות לבם הרע ס 18 בימים ההמה ילבו בית־יהודה על־בית ישראל ויבאו יחדו
מארץ צפון[246] על־הארץ אשר הנחלתי את־אבותיכם

The second large prose section within Jeremiah 2–6 cannot be identified by the presence of markers or shift of participants; its main feature consists of eschatological and idealistic projections, even though there are some objections mainly from those who take Jeremiah 30–31 as part of the prophet's early words locating them during the days of King Josiah.

It has been suggested that the poetic fragment שוב בנים שובבים in v. 14 (borrowed from v. 22) still has the repentance theme and the marriage metaphor on its horizon,[247] but the shift from husband to father challenges such a proposal; therefore, it makes more sense to consider v. 14 functioning as recapitulation, which reworks previous language and themes introducing new ideas.[248] For instance, כי אנכי בלתי בכם plays with the previous references to בעל/ים, arguing that Yahweh is the real lord/master over the people; as a father, he summons his dispersed faithless children, which is probably a futuristic prognosis evoking the return of the exiles.[249] Like vv. 19-20 and 4:1-2, vv. 14-18

[242] Plus εν ταις εμεραις εκειναις.
[243] Minus.
[244] Minus.
[245] Minus.
[246] Plus και από πασων των χωρων = הארצות ומכל.
[247] Hyatt considers v. 14 belonging to the previous pericope, and like McKane, also suggests that the marriage imagery and the topic of repentance are still at play without attributing these verses to the former northern kingdom cf. Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 286-87; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 72.
[248] See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 149; Popko, *Marriage*, 376. This occurs in Jer 3:1-5 and 4:3-4, where despite their affinity with previous texts, ideas from preceding verses are reused to introduce new elements.
[249] Carroll, however, limits the returnees to a small number on the basis that the writer of this passage is taking a realistic perspective cf. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 149. Yet

are closely related to the hopeful message in Jeremiah 30–31; nonetheless, here the theme of homecoming makes the distinction between exile and diaspora somewhat grey.[250] Some commentators divide these verses into words from the prophet addressed to the former northern kingdom and expansions from a different author with the intention to include the exiles in Babylon or even the diaspora community.[251]

There is a high probability that ונתתי לכם רעים כלבי ורעו אתכם דעה ותשכיל (v. 15) reflects an adaptation against the theme of bad leadership, which was held responsible for bringing the disaster, but this does not exclude the exploitation by foreign powers. More importantly, however, is the fact the reference to a new leadership resembles late Davidic restoration promises (e.g., Jer 23:5-6; 33:15-16). Those who defend the view that the exiles refer to the former northern kingdom attribute this leadership to Josiah's expansionism,[252] but such reconstructions have already been challenged besides the fact that this pericope also presumes texts which already belong to a very late stratum.[253]

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since its idealistic tone allows hyperbole, there is no need to interpret this passage in such a literal sense. See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 72; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 313.

[250] For an overview of the challenges involved see Lester L. Grabbe, 'Conclusions: Reflection on the Discussion', in *Leading Captivity Captive: 'The Exile' as History and Ideology*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, JSOTSup 278/ESHM 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 145-56; David J. Reimer, 'Exile, Diaspora, and Old Testament Theology', *SBET* 28 (2010):3-17.

[251] Volz, *Jeremia*, 45-49; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 27. Many of those who accept the continuity of the marriage metaphor and the theme of repentance in v. 14 argue that the returnees here refer to the exiles of the former norther kingdom. See Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 201; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 120; Unterman, *Repentance*, 125; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 60; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 313; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 57.

[252] See Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 202; Unterman, *Repentance*,125-26; Craig et al, *Jeremiah*, 60; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 314; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 57.

[253] For these reasons, Rudolph argues that except for v. 18, which was added by a redactor, vv. 14-17 were part of the prophet's late ministry, but Hyatt argues that even these verses can be considered (post)exilic redaction. See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 22-23; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 827. Thiel, however, argues that the language of this passage is post-Deuteronomistic whilst Hoffmann believes that the good leadership is probably an allusion to Zerubbabel, who was granted permission to return under Cyrus' permission before the construction of the second temple in 516 BCE. See Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 91-93; Yair Hoffmann, 'Eschatology in the Book of Jeremiah', in *Eschatology in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, JSOTSup 243 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 93-94;

The following clause והיה כי תרבו ופריתם בארץ alongside universalistic colours (vv. 16-17) suggests priestly influence and echoes many features of Isaiah 40–55. Despite some continuity with the polemic rhetoric against other gods from pre-exilic prophets, second Isaiah introduces a new perspective of Yahweh coated with the ideological supremacy from Babylonian myths, which represent Marduk as the supreme deity triumphing over the other gods; the exiles are no longer a nation, but a confessional community, which within the new climate after Cyrus victories, is now open to proselytes.[254]

Despite attempts to attribute the loss of the ark to king Manasseh's replacement of the object by the statue of the goddess Asherah,[255] it is important to consider the Deuteronomistic ideology behind the depiction of bad kings; similar lack of awareness can also be observed in the assumption that vv. 14-18 belong to the prophet's early days.[256] Apparently, the ark, which once was considered the throne of Yahweh and the symbol of his presence, lost its relevance within the formatting of the new religious order (v. 16). It is possible to compare its diminishing importance with the critique against the mantra היכל יהוה היכל יהוה היכל יהוה in 7:4,[257] but when עוד ארון ברית־יהוה is read in parallel with לירושלם כסא יהוה (v. 17), it becomes evident that the city will replace that function of the throne of Yahweh and his presence. This seems to be confirmed by the early exegetical expansions in the Masoretic text לשם יהוה לירושלם; therefore, the depreciation of the ark

Henning Graf Reventlow, 'The Eschatologization of the Prophetic Books: A Comparative Study', in *Eschatology in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, JSOTSup 243 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 179-81. Duhm's suggestion that the passage reflects post-exilic apocalypticism may represent the most extreme view. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 39-41.

[254] J. Blenkinsopp, 'Second Isaiah: Prophet of Universalism', *JSOT* 41 (1988):83-103.

[255] M. Haran, 'The Disappearance of the Ark', *IEJ* 13 (1963):46-68.

[256] See H. Cazelles, 'Israël du Nord et Arche D'Alliance', *VT* 18 (1968):147-58; J. A. Soggin, 'The Ark of the Covenant, Jeremiah 3:16', in *Le Livre de Jérémie*, ed. P.-M. Bogaert, BETL 54 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 215-21.

[257] Moshe Weinfeld, 'Jeremiah and the Spiritual Metamorphosis of Israel', *ZAW* 88 (1976):17-56.

is arguably related to the systematic aniconic project.[258] Furthermore, the presence of Yahweh is represented as the solution to people's propensity for evil שררות לבם הרע, which probably presumes the healing mentioned in the promises of restoration (Jeremiah 30–31), particularly concerning the idea that the law will be written in the people's heart.[259] The final part of this unit (v. 18) concludes with the prospect of the unification of the northern and southern kingdoms; much of the discussion in terms of its relationship with the Josianic expansionistic programme has already been discussed over the course of this chapter and there is no need to repeat. Presumably, the idealistic and eschatological tone of vv. 14-18 makes the discussion on whether a united monarchy ever existed unnecessary.[260]

Jer 3:19-20

19 ואנכי אמרתי איך[261] אשיתך בבנים ואתן־לך ארץ חמדה נחלת צבי צבאות
גוים
ואמר אבי תקראו־לי ומאחרי לא תשובו
20 אכן בגדה אשר מרעה
כן בגדתם בי בית ישראל
נאם־יהוה

The shift from prose to poetry (v. 19) marks the beginning of a new unit, which closes with the oracular formula נאם־יהוה (v. 20). Although many scholars have considered these two verses as part of a longer poem,[262] such a unit cannot be sustained. They are part of a process of

[258] Middlemas, *Divine*, 80-83.
[259] See Bernard Gosse, 'L'Ouverture de la Nouvelle Alliance aux Nations en Jérémie III 14-18', *VT* 39 (1989):385-92; Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 97-98; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 52-54; Simon J. De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New: A Tradition-Historical & Redaction-Critical Study of Temporal Transition in Prophetic Prediction* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1995), 141-42.
[260] Behind the debate on the existence of the united kingdom lies the conflict between the literary description in the Bible and archaeological evidence, which by no means rejects its existence but suggests that it was probably much more modest than its biblical portrayal. See Grabbe, *Ancient*, 154-58.
[261] γενοιτο κυριε οτι = כי יהוה אמן.
[262] Proposals vary in terms of what is part of the poetical unity 3:1-5, 12-13, 20-25; 4:1-2(4). See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 25; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 25; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 829; Volz, *Jeremia*, 34; Jobling, 'Poem', 45-55; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 48; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 205-206; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 63; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 316; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 45; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 60; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 57; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 197; Popko, *Marriage*, 399-406.

agglutination, where chunks were grouped by the catchword שוב instead.[263] Yahweh appears as the speaker in this monologue talking about his frustrated plans for his people. Here the change from paternal to conjugal metaphor reveals the fragility of those views that suggest a coherent single marriage metaphor, controlling the whole of Jeremiah 2–3; the marriage imagery, as argued earlier, is thus just one of many metaphors employed to illustrate the issue of apostasy. More substantial, however, is the softer tone compared to 3:1-5 since the adjective addressed to the woman in vv. 19-20 is much less harsh.[264] Despite the special status granted to Israel, a hint of universalism based on Deut 32:8-9[265] raises strong suspicions of a late provenance. Both Römer and Smith, identify a more pronounced move towards monotheism, starting during the Persian period and particularly in the later layer of the Deuteronomistic history, where universalistic ideas about Yahweh appear in conjunction with the convictions he is the creator and also that he elected Israel (e.g., Deut 10:14-22).[266]

Jer 3:21-25

21 קול על־שפיים[267] נשמע בכי תחנוני בני ישראל
כי העוו את־דרכם שכחו את־יהוה אלהיהם[268]

[263] McKane and Carroll reject the poetic unit in Jeremiah 3, but the latter is more sceptical in terms of the association between the historical prophet and the poetic sections. See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 77; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 152.
[264] Biddle, *Redaction*, 107-109.
[265] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 152. Blenkinsopp observes that as a whole the priestly material presents a conciliatory and universalist feature, as its laws are inclusivist (e.g. Exod 12:49; Lev 19:34; 24:22) and creation covers the whole human race, which shares the *Imago Dei* (Gen 1:26-28) and has the responsibility towards the maintenance of the world; also, all humanity is participant of the covenant after the flood, following its statutes (Gen 9:1-7). In a strategic move, the author of this material moved the covenant to the beginning of times, making it universal and unilateral in contrast to the Deuteronomistic exclusive and lateral perspective. Such a move elevates the deity transcendentality. See Joseph Blenkinsopp, 'Abraham as Paradigm in Priestly History in Genesis', *JBL* 128 (2009):225-41.
[266] See Thomas Römer, *So-Called*, 172-74; Mark S. Smith, *God in Translation: Deities in Cross-Cultural Discourse in the Biblical World* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 195-216. Becker even considers monotheism as a product of Judaism, which was consolidated in the post-monarchical era with the integration of state and religion. See Uwe Becker, 'Von der Staatsreligion zum Monotheismus: Ein Kapitel israelitisch-judischer Religionsgeschichte', *ZThK* 102 (2005):1-16.
[267] χειλεων = שפה.
[268] αγιου αυτων = קדשם.

22 שובו בנים שובבים
ארפה משובתיכם[269]
הננו אתנו לך כי אתה יהוה אלהינו
23 אכן לשקר מגבעות המון הרים
אכן ביהוה אלהינו תשועת ישראל
24 והבשת אכלה את־יגיע אבותינו מנעורינו את־צאנם ואת־בקרם את־בניהם
ואת־בנותיהם 25 נשכבה בבשתנו ותכסנו כלמתנו כי ליהוה אלהינו חטאנו אנחנו
ואבותינו מנעורינו ועד־היום הזה ולא שמענו בקול יהוה אלהינו
ס

The transition from a monologue to what appears like some form of a responsive reading and the presence of ס in the Masoretic text demarcate a new unit. This unit is divided into two parts formed by a combination of poetry and prose; an alternation between human and divine voices in the poem recited by the liturgist (vv. 21-22) invites the response from the community in the prose expansion, which incorporates a psalm of repentance (vv. 23-25).[270] There are obvious echoes of recurrent themes from Jeremiah 2–3 (e.g., על־שפיים) and, to some extent, some affinity with 3:12-13. Also, as vv. 21-25 reflect some idea presented in Hosea 5 and 14, some commentators have been inclined to place these verses within the Josianic period, but there are some variations in interpretation, since some of them think that there was no real repentance whilst others argue that the presence of liturgy was a rhetorical device not representing the reality but an ideal confession.[271] Some of these commentators are even open to the possibility of the prose expansions reflecting the sentiment of the (post)exilic community after 587/6 BCE.[272] Nevertheless, the claims that such familiarity indicates that vv. 21-25 belong to a larger poem (formed by 3:1-5, 12-13, 19-25 and 4:1-2[4]) may not be the best explanation.[273] Whilst McKane is not convinced of such poetic unity and does not locate vv. 21-25 during Josiah's time, his postulation that

[269] τα συντριμματα υμων = שברכם?
[270] See Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 320; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 65; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol.1, 116-17.
[271] See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 25-26; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 208-10; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 64-65.
[272] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 43-44; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 323; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 50-52.
[273] See footnote 237 above.

poetry comes from the historical Jeremiah[274] still creates some difficulties considering the vast theological variation within the poetic material itself. Of course, this by no means implies that the combination of different units through the שוב motif did not involve any engineering, but it means that such structuring work happened from outside. Linguistic and thematic similarity, according to Biddle, can be imitated and used in new theological formulations, such as the theology of repentance.[275] A similar phenomenon is widely recognised in Jeremiah 30–31(33), where pre-existent words of doom are remarkably transformed into words of hope.[276] Carroll argues that vv. 21-25 reverse the preceding sections and the dissonant nature of these verses compared to the previous poetic section and the following disaster cycle (Jeremiah 4:5–6:30) suggest a redactional interference. This editorial intrusion reveals a considerable conscious awareness of the nation's iniquity alongside the need for divine healing, which gives an answer to the plea introduced in 3:13, employing the שוב leitmotiv. The fact that this penitential liturgy is not as developed as those confessional and repentant liturgies available in post-exilic writings, such as Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel, leads Carroll to think that this confession may hint at an early exilic reflection about the past.[277] However, it is doubtful that the theology of accusation had the same minds of those involved in the theological reflection of repentance, which emerges in the later stratum of the Deuteronomistic writings, probably during the Persian period.[278] Confessions, as Ricoeur would argue, have a central place in people's religious experience, particularly those related to the issue of evil, as they open the doors to

[274] McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 83.
[275] Biddle, *Redaction*, 109-14.
[276] See Clements, 'Hope', 346; Böhmer, *Heimkehr*, 109; Carroll, *Chaos*, 203-206; Yair Hoffman, 'The Deuteronomistic and the Exile', in *Pomegranates Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honour of Jacob Milgrom*, ed. David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman and Avi Hurvitz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 673.
[277] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 144-55.
[278] Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 170-71.

explore the vocabulary used in such act.[279] In the light of this, not only did the language of vv. 21-25 reflect a reuse of previous material, but it also reveals the development of Judah's consciousness and identity; this involved its own perception about the relationship with its own status before Yahweh and its view towards other religious practices.

Jer 4:1-2

1 אם־תשוב ישראל
נאם־יהוה
אלי תשוב ואת־תסיר שקוציך מפני ולא[280] תנוד
2 ונשבעת הי־יהוה באמת במשפט ובצדקה
והתברכו[281] בו גוים ובו יתהללו[282]
ס

Unit 4:1-2 can be identified by the presence of the oracular formula נאם־יהוה and ס in the Masoretic text (vv. 1-2). In the Greek text the unit can only be established by oracular formula and the beginning of the next unit, but the main difference between both versions is the addressment to Israel, as the former uses 2.m.s. whilst the latter refers to the nation using the third person, causing confusion in the rest of the poem.[283] Commentators diverge in terms of the syntactical constructions of verses 1-2, especially concerning the relationship between the conditional and concluding clauses.[284] The poem plays with different meanings of the term שוב, attaching Israel's 'repentance' as a condition 'to return' to Yahweh (v. 1a); the sense of repentance is confirmed by אלי תשוב ואת־תסיר שקוציך מפני ולא תנוד (v. 1b). The second half of the poem starts with the following protasis ונשבעת הי־יהוה באמת במשפט ובצדקה (v. 2a), concluding with the apodosis והתברכו בו גוים ובו יתהללו (v. 2b), which was expanded in the transmission history by the insertion of τω θεω εν Ιερουσαλημ. Both apodoses refer to relatively late ideas, such as the gift of the land and the removal of שקוציך (a clear

[279] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 11-17.
[280] Minus.
[281] και ευλογησουσιν = ונברך?
[282] Plus τω θεω εν Ιερουσαλημ.
[283] McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 84-85.
[284] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 45-46; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 26-27; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 21; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol, 1, 126-28; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 85-86.

reference to the idols), undermining proposals of a unified large poem.[285]

It is during the Persian era, according to Römer, that Yahweh was no longer considered just the god of Israel, but the only real God of all peoples and in late Deuteronomistic texts closely related to monotheistic ideas, such as Deuteronomy 4, creation is often connected with the notion of election.[286] What is more striking, however, is the fact that the patriarchs, who are rarely referred to in Jeremiah 2–3, seem to be alluded to 4:1-2, since the fathers mentioned in these two chapters are normally the wilderness generation. Here the foundation myths play an important part; they are basically stories about the beginning, which prepare and define the course of the narrative. As Sweeney points out, such stories appear with frequency in the ancient world in different versions circulating simultaneously in forms of poetry and prose; her approach to the study of foundation myths suggests that instead of focusing on only one version of foundation stories, one can benefit with the combination of its various versions.[287] According to Römer, two competing foundation myths about the origins of Israel existed during the neo-Babylonian period: the Egyptian narrative tied to the Exodus account emphasises the idea of conquest probably had the exiles behind it. The patriarchal narrative, on the other hand, stressed that the fathers already lived in the land. It probably refers to the Judean community in contrast to the exilic one.[288]

Römer argues that the blending of these two competing stories is a trace of the later redaction of Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic writings.[289] Schmid suggests that both were merged during the mid-5th

[285] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 156.
[286] Ibid., 173-74.
[287] Naoíse Mac Sweeney, 'Introduction', *Foundation Myths in Ancient Societies: Dialogues and Discourses*, ed. Naoíse Mac Sweeney (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 1-10.
[288] See Thomas Römer, *Israels Väter: Untersuchungen zur Väterthematik im Deuteronomium und in deuteronomischen Tradition*, OBO 99 (Göttingen and Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 568-75; —, *So-Called*, 125-27.
[289] Römer, *Väter*, 568-75.

century BCE not long after P. [290] Such a combination of two rival traditions in Jeremiah fits tidily within Biddle's suggestion of frame redaction, where Jer 2:2-3 and 4:1-2, form an inclusion involving Jeremiah 2:4–3:25.[291]

Jer 4:3-4

3 כי־כה אמר יהוה לאיש יהודה ולירושלם
נירו לכם ניר ואל־תזרעו אל־קוצים
4 המלו ליהוה והסרו ערלות לבבכם איש יהודה וישבי ירושלם
פן תצא כאש המתי ובערה ואין מכבה מפני רע מעלליכם

Virtually all commentators accept that the heading כה אמר יהוה לאיש יהודה ולירושלם opens a new unit, which function as a transition between Jeremiah 2:4–4:2 and 4:5–6:30, although some of them consider 4:3-4 an extension of 1-2 editorially linked by the conjunction כי.[292] Yet the fact the שוב motif is absent in these verses (they use other metaphors to deal with the theme of repentance) suggests that 4:3-4 deserve a different treatment.[293] In Duhm's view, these verses close the booklet, which contained the prophet's early oracles pronounced in Anathoth; Holladay, likewise, suggests that the new rubric was evidence for the first recension, corresponding to the first scroll and, similarly, Lundbom uses the change of addressee to distinguish words directed to the northern and southern kingdoms, but he adds that these verses form an inclusio with 2:2-3.[294] Arguments against the axiom that Jeremiah 2–6 belong to the prophet's early days and against the shift of addressees, have already been exposed throughout this chapter and there is no need to repeat them, but an important point should be raised against Lundbom's proposal. The inclusio would only work in the

[290] Konrad Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments* (Neukirchener-Vluys: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999,) 170-71, 273-74.
[291] Biddle, *Redaction*, 195-200.
[292] See Volz, *Jeremia*, 40-42; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 213-17; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 606; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 48-51; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 62; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 57-61; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 116-17; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 183-84.
[293] See Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 93-94; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 87; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 157; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 57.
[294] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 47-48; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 77; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 328.

Masoretic version, as the phrase הלך וקראת באזני ירושלם לאמר is absent in the shorter 𝔊-Jer 2:2. In theory this inclusion could have been added by those behind the Masoretic expansions of 2:2, but vv. 3-4 are present in both versions.

The poem contains two metaphors, formed by two parallels and some have suggested that the first pair נירו לכם ניר ואל־תזרעו אל־קוצים in v. 3 is quotation of Hos 10:12,[295] but the use of this image here takes a different direction, as it is related to moral conduct which corresponds to a profound repentance and purification of the heart.[296] Similarly, the second pair המלו ליהוה והסרו ערלות לבבכם borrows its image from Deut 10:16; 30:6. Its usage of the ritual of circumcision as a metaphor for deep commitment, which some identify as one of the marks of the Deuteronomistic redaction, reinforces the message initiated by the first image.[297]

Despite the fact that moral impurities cannot be dealt with cleansing rituals since they require propitiation,[298] it is surprising that the writer chose a rite of a passage, which was transformed into an infant rite of social integration over the years,[299] instead of a ritual of purification. As some anthropologists have observed, rituals harmonise the distance between myth and reality, endorsing the beliefs in a community through physical presentation. Socio-religious shifts are identified by rituals besides the maintenance of the religious harmonious order amid

[295] See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 24; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 27; Volz, *Jeremia*, 41; Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 96; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 123.
[296] See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 157-58; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 87.
[297] See Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 94; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 138; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 88; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 58. Hendel even suggests that the prophetic evaluation of the rituals efficiency alongside its latent review of the distinction between symbol and object were pivotal for the advancement of a more pronounced form of monotheism in ancient Israelite religion. See Ronald S. Hendel, 'Prophets, Priests, and the Efficacy of Ritual', in *Pomegranates Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honour of Jacob Milgrom,* ed. David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman and Avi Hurvitz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 198.
[298] Klawans, *Impurity*, 26-31.
[299] Nick Wyatt, 'Circumcision and Circumstance: Male Genital Mutilation in Ancient Israel and Ugarit', *JSOT* 33 (2009):405-31.

chaos.[300] Even though some have minimised the impact of the exile in the Judean society,[301] it is hard to deny that significant socio-religious transformations resulted from the Babylonian disruption of the status quo.[302] The disappearance of the temple and the loss of the monarchy could easily be included within those factors that sparked the creation of such a vast collection of biblical material in its current shape and probably the elaboration of customs and traditions, such as circumcision and the Sabbath, with the intention of the preservation of the identity of the exiled communities.[303] In the light of this, the metaphor of circumcision may reflect such a paradigmatic change of the shape of Yahwistic religion, in which the move towards exclusivism demanded a strong commitment to group participation. In this sense, despite the fact that some have interpreted the last part of the unit פן־תצא כאש חמתי ובערה ואין מכבה מפני רע מעלליכם as a warning to elicit repentance in order to prevent an imminent disaster, it is better understood as a theological reflection about what brought about such calamity, which fits within the logic of act-consequence.[304]

5.2. 'Natural/Physical Evil' (Jer 4:5–6:30)

The discourse of theodicy often employs the term natural/physical evil. It usually refers to suffering and pain caused by natural causes, such as illness, famine, natural disaster, etc.[305] Although some may challenge the use of this term within Jeremiah on the grounds that רעה מצפון in most cases refers to warfare, the topic of calamity occurs with

[300] See Lévi-Strauss, 'Structural', 428-44; Rappaport, *Ritual*, 276; Lee, 'Ritual', 14-15; Durkheim, *Formes*, 69. Van Gennep and Turner, in particular, suggest that different phases of the individuals' lives within a community are distinguished by rituals cf. Van Gennep, *Passage*, 271-80; Turner, *Process*, 200-203.
[301] Barstad, *Myth*, 80.
[302] Valkama, 'Archaeological', 39-59
[303] Soggin, *Storia*, 326-28. For Wyatt, despite that the narratives involving the rite of circumcision occur in very ancient settings, their current shape takes place within the exilic setting cf. Wyatt, 'Circumcision', 405-31.
[304] See Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 94-95; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 159.
[305] Davis, 'Introduction', xi.

more frequency in Jeremiah 4:5–6:30. The term catastrophe comes from the Greek words κατα and στρεφειν, meaning 'reversal', 'turn' or 'turning point'. It first appeared in French language within the context of theatre during the sixteenth century in opposition to 'happy ending', but its sense of a general 'misfortune', 'damage', 'harm' or 'disaster' did not occur until the nineteenth century; only more recently it has been employed referring to natural disasters. Catastrophes, then, emerge as something potentially dangerous to human civilization, its full sense involves both the unthinkable and the vulnerabilities of human societies, where social, temporal and spatial circumstances are strongly correlated since calamities are always multidimensional. Whilst it is possible to differentiate between natural and man-made disaster, the use of the term natural/physical evil can still be justified because, for example, man-made catastrophes, such as war and climate change can still be included within the category of disaster.[306] Römer even adopts the slogan 'crisis literature' to discussion of the OT/HB due to the events of 597 and 587/6 BCE, as both events involved war, which resulted in the exile. Considering the fact that a significant part of this body of literature reflects on these events, it plays an important role in the retelling of history and the creation of myths of rituals to shape the people's identity within the new context.[307]

The thematic unity of Jeremiah 4:5–6:30 based on רעה...מצפון leitmotif, however, should not lead to premature conclusions in terms of a single authorship,[308] as even within such a thematic unity one can

[306] Angelika Berlejung, 'Katastrophen und Katastrophenbewältigung im Alten Israel/Palästina, in Ägypten und im Alten Orient', in *Katastrophen un ihre Bewältigung*, ed. Angelika Berlejung, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 5-7.
[307] Thomas Römer, 'The Hebrew Bible as Crisis Literature', in *Katastrophen und ihre Bewältigung*, ed. Angelika Berlejung, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 159-75.
[308] Based on a comparison between Jeremiah 4:5-31 and the Book of the Watchers, Olson proposes an integral unity of vv. 4-31, arguing that it reflects an apocalyptic poem with a clear chiastic structure. See Daniel C. Olson, 'Jeremiah 4.5-31 and Apocalyptic Myth', *JSOT* 73 (1997):81-107. This proposal, however, seems highly dependent on theories of structures. In some cases, differences between 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah may affect the alleged parallelisms; moreover, verbal and stylistic parallels can be found in different places in the OT/HB. Rhetorical and literary coherent structures are mistaken as argument of a single authorship. As Levinson argues, in

still detect traces of a lengthy literary growth identifiable by a considerable degree of modifications, such as Masoretic expansions, stylistic differences and distinctive theological stresses.[309] Furthermore, there are exegetical reflections in which disaster is developed into blame by the means of the use of 2.f.s; such a literary manoeuvre converts Jerusalem from a position as a victim to the one as accused and, therefore, liable to divine punishment.[310] Ricoeur's distinction between suffering and moral evil suggests that those afflicted by pain are not responsible for it, as unlike moral evil where individuals are held responsible, suffering makes them victims; yet he also acknowledges that it is exactly within the knot between moral and natural/physical evils that the human condition is expressed in such a diverse way (e.g., sin suffering and death).[311] As before, we move to the text progressively.

Jer 4:5-8

5 הגידו ביהודה ובירושלם[312] השמיעו ואמרו
ותקעו שופר בארץ קראו מלאו ואמרו
האספו ונבואה אל־ערי המבצר
6 שאו־נס[313] ציונה העיזו אל־תעמדו
כי רעה אנכי מביא מצפון ושבר גדול
7 עלה אריה מסבכו ומשחית גוים נסע
יצא ממקמו לשום ארצך לשום ארצך לשמה
עריך הצינה מאין יושב[314]
8 על־זאת חגרו שקים ספדו והילילו
כי אל־שב חרון אף־יהוה ממנו
פ

The heading in v. 5 opens unit 4:5-8, which closes in the Masoretic version with פ after v. 8. But this pericope is still trackable in the Greek

reference to Deuteronomy, it is exactly such consistency that leads some scholars to suggest editorial activity cf. Levinson, *Deuteronomy*, 27.

[309] Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 58-59.

[310] See Pohlmann, *Ferne*, 124-27; Levin, *Verheißung*, 156-59; Biddle, *Redaction*, 207; Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 128. Particularly Berlejung's section concerning ideological and religious interpretation of disaster and its coping mechanisms seems pertinent to this discussion. See Berlejung, 'Katastrophen', 11-12, 21-28.

[311] Ricoeur, *Mal*, 24-25.

[312] και ακουστητω = והשמיעו.

[313] φευγετε = נס.

[314] Plus αυτας.

text due to a shift to prose from v. 9 onwards. As the double occurrence of ואמרו in v. 5 makes the identity of the speaker ambiguous, some commentators have suggested emendations, which considers whether one of them should be deleted or preserved.[315] An alternative, which does not require textual modifications, is the possibility of a hidden speaker. Its identity ought to be revealed by the wider context of the pericope. The prophet is commissioned to sound the alarm in Judah (הגידו ביהודה ובירושלם השמיעו ואמרו ותקעו שופר בארץ קראו מלאו), which האספו ונבואה אל־ערי המבצר in the second half of v. 5 suggests an imminent assault against Judah. The idea of רעה (v. 6) reflects calamity, but it is not simply a politico-military conflict because כי רעה אנכי מביא מצפון ושבר גדול in v. 6 suggests a divine judgement. Thus, in agreement with Reimer's suggestion,[316] the dissociation between the foe and the North alongside references attributing Mount *ṣpn* as the dwelling place of the deities in Canaanite myths reinforces the idea of divine judgment. Next, a simile (אריה מסבכו ומשחית גוים) is put in place to illustrate the extent of devastation in the land represented by the following pair לשום ארצך לשמה עריך תצינה מאין יושב (v. 7), but a frequent pattern that occurs over Jeremiah 4–10 is the feminisation of the Judah/Jerusalem through the use of 2.f.s. (e.g., ארצך, עריך).[317] The concluding verse (v. 8) starts with על־זאת, which requires a reaction to what is preceded; in this case the desired response is the attitude of lament (חגרו שפים ספדו והיללו) and the presence of the conjunction כי seems to associate the disaster with the wrath of the deity (לא־שב חרון אף־יהוה ממנו), which reveals the identity of the speaker.

Since some scholars have presumed that the historical Jeremiah started his ministry during King Josiah's time and concentrated much of their energy searching for the *ipsissima verba Jeremiae*, which to a great extent also presumed that Jeremiah 2–6 belonged to the prophet's

[315] Duhm, *Jeremia*, 48; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 28; Volz, *Jeremia*, 52; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 90-91; Robert Althann, *A Philological Analysis of Jeremiah 4–6 in the Light of Northwest Semitic* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1983), 39.
[316] Reimer, 'Foe', 223-32.
[317] See Levin, *Verheißung*, 156-59; Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 128.

early ministry, there were some challenges concerning the identity of רעה מצפון. Proposals varied from the Scythian hypothesis to the hordes of Alexander the Great, an enemy who was not the Chaldeans originally, some form of an eschatological judgment or the chaos tradition.[318] Babylon is certainly the best candidate,[319] but there is still the question about when exactly these texts about the enemy from the North took place. Hyatt and Whitley engaged in a debate in which the former proposed 609 BCE after King Josiah was killed by Pharaoh Neco whilst the latter suggested 605 BCE during the rule of King Jehoiakim as a consequence of the result of the Battle of Carchemish.[320] More recently, it has been suggested that the context of these chapters could have involved the practice of divination during the period of King Zedekiah.[321] Many commentators have interpreted Jeremiah 4–6 as a consequence of chapters 2–3; although there are some variations in terms of the time line given by these commentaries, the rationale is the following: the prophet had visions and preached words of doom, urging the people to repent; as there was no sign of repentance, the divine judgment came as a punishment for breaking the covenant.[322] Whilst this was probably the intention of whoever assembled the book in its current shape, it does not necessarily represent the best explanation of the order of facts.

[318] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, xiv; Richard P. Vaggione, 'Over all Asia? The Extent of the Scythian Domination in Herodotus', *JBL* 92 (1973):523-30; Yamauchi, 'Scythians', 90-99; Ackroyd, *Exile*, 50-52; Volz, *Jeremia*, 10; Welch, *Jeremiah*, 97-131; Torrey, 'Background', 193-216; Childs, 'Enemy', 187-98. A detailed overview of the discussion can be found in H. H. Rowley, The Early Prophecies of Jeremiah, *BJRL* 45 (1962-3):198-234.
[319] See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 160; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 92; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 58-59.
[320] See Hyatt, 'Peril', 511-12; —, 'Beginning', 204-18; Whitley, 'Date, 467-83; —, 'Carchemish', 38-49.
[321] Sweeney, 'Structure', 200-18; Hardmeier, 'Redekomposition', 11-42; —, Wahrhaftigkeit und Fehlorientierung bei Jeremia: Jer 5,1 und die divinatorische Expertise Jer 2-6* im Kontext der zeitgenössischen Kontroversen um die politische Zukunft Jerusalems', in *Exegese vor Ort: Festschrift für Peter Welten zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Christl M. Maier, Klaus-Peter Jörns and Rüdiger Liwak (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), 121-44.
[322] See Volz, *Jeremia*, 53-54; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 34; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 218-21; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 149-50; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 72; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 66-68.

It is important to recognise that these texts reflect on the fall of Jerusalem on a matter of retrospective than prospective prediction. Even though the association between the phenomenon of prophecy and divination in ancient Israel is widely recognised,[323] it is important to detach such practices from prophetic literature; such a dissociation involves the distinction between the world behind the text and the literary world, as the latter appears mostly concerned with 'forthtelling' instead of 'foretelling'.[324] It is difficult to be precise in terms of the date of 4:5-8, [325] but in terms of literary history, it is most likely that the laments in Jeremiah 4:5–6:30 were inspired by the suffering caused by the catastrophic events of 587/6 BCE and although this may not give details about how these chapters were written, lamenting as an expression is historically envisaged even without its meticulous documentation.[326]

[323] As part of a decision-making process, rulers often employed divination to decide the future of their nations; matters concerning warfare were also included within such consultations. See Jonathan Stökl, '(Intuitive) Divination, (Ethical) Demands and Diplomacy in the Ancient Near East', in *Mediating Between Heaven and Earth: Communication with the Divine in the Ancient Near East*, ed. C. L. Crouch, Jonathan Stökl and Anna Elise Zernecke, LHBOT 566 (New York and London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2012), 82-92; —, 'Divination, Politics, and Ancient Near Eastern Empires', in *Divination, Politics, & Ancient Near Eastern Empires*, ed., Alan Lenzi and Jonathan Stökl, ANEM 7 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2014), 49-63.

[324] See Stuart Weeks, 'Jeremiah as a Prophetic Book', in *Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah*, ed. Hans M. Barstad and Reinhard G. Kratz, BZAW 388 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2009), 248-49; —, 'Predictive and Prophetic Literature: Can *Neferti* Help Us Read the Bible?', in *Prophecy and Prophets in Ancient Israel*, ed. John Day, LHBOTS 531 (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 38-44.

[325] Resemblances of 4:5 with 30:10; 46:14 and 50:2 suggest that at least the heading is very recent. See Taro Odashima, 'Zu einem verbogenen "Weitblick" im Jeremiabuch – Beobachtungen zu Jer 4,5aα-β*', in *Prophetie und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit im alten Israel: Festschrift für Siegfried Herrmann zum 65 Geburtstag*, ed. Rüdiger Liwak and Siegfried Wagner (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991), 270-84. Lundbom argues that unit 4:5-8 works as an introduction for the collection concerning the foe from the North in a similar way as Jer 2:2-3 does (cf. Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 333); however, the way in which Jeremiah 4:5ff. evolves appears closer to the accumulative developing process of Jeremiah 3.

[326] Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 128-129; Reinhard Gregor Kratz, *Die Propheten Israels* (München: C. H. Beck, 2003), 77-79. Some scholars have suggested that the context of Lamentations fit within post-587/6 BCE setting. See Jill Middlemas, *The Troubles of the Templeless Judah*, OTM (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 226-228; Xuan Huong Thi Pham, *Mourning in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible*, JSOTSup 302 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 13. References to corporate lamentation over a subdued or destroyed city are occasionally featured by the absence of any clear supplicatory intentions. Such laments employ language

Jer 4:9-10

9 והיה ביום־ההוא נאם־יהוה יאבד לב־המלך ולב השרים ונשמו הכהנים והנביאים
יתמהו 10 ואמר אהה אדני יהוה אכן השא השאת לעם הזה ולירושלם לאמר שלום
יהוה לכם ונגעה חרב עד־הנפש

As in 3:16, where the formula בימים ההמה נאם־יהוה appears, this unit starts with a similar formulaic variation (והיה ביום־ההוא נאם־יהוה v. 9).[327] Despite the fact that some commentators consider vv. 9-(10) as part of the previous unit, most scholars recognise the secondary nature of these verses.[328] Not only did these verses interrupt the flow of the poetry, but they also appear in a relative distance from vv. 5-8; moreover, v. 9 operates in the same way of the Deuteronomistic layer, where the leadership class is held responsible for the disaster (e.g., 2:26; 8:1).[329] Some scholars have proposed that v. 10 reflects one of the complaints (or confessions) of the prophet against the fact that Yahweh allowed the activity of false prophets who preached salvation when there was no hope; some of them even credit this complaint to the historical Jeremiah's inner struggles or attribute such prophetic freedom to God's ambivalence or sovereignty.[330] Whilst the controversy with the false prophets might be related to this passage, the existence of autobiography, which attempts to draw the prophet's psychological profile, is highly questionable.[331] Carroll suggests that vv. 9-10 are inserted as the first response to the previous verses[332] and McKane argues that v. 10 probably reflects criticism against Jerusalem cult and

similar to that used in mourning rituals cf. Saul M. Olyan, *Biblical Mourning: Ritual and Social Dimensions* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), 101-104.

[327] De Vries, *Old*, 142.

[328] Apart from few exceptions, many commentators consider vv. 9-(10) an expansion of the previous unit. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 49-50; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 34; Volz, *Jeremia*, 54; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 221-23; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 63; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 163; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 334; Craig et, al, *Jeremiah*, 73-74; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 835; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 129.

[329] See Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 60-61; Tiemeyer, 'Priests', 248-49. Despite Duhm's acceptance of the Scythian hypothesis, he also considered vv. 9-12 as secondary cf. Duhm, *Jeremia*, 49-50.

[330] See Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 221-23; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 152; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 340; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 613; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 55; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 68; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 66; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 74; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 129-30; Fischer, *Jeremia*, 216-17.

[331] Reventlow, *Liturgie*, 7-23.

[332] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 161.

the belief in inviolability of the city and the temple is plausible,[333] but such a triumphalist theology fits better with older strata. Since vv. 9-10 probably reflect an insertion by a Deuteronomistic writer, it may be dealing with the emergence of the criteria to discern true and false prophets cf. Deut 13:1-6.[334] If this is correct, then, it might correspond to the discontinuity of ecstatic prophecy, making the transition to prophetic writings or even a more pronounced scribal religion, i.e., the religion of the book.

Jer 4:11-12

11 בעת ההיא יאמר לעם־הזה ולירושלם רוח צח[335] שפיים במדבר דרך בת־עמי
לוא לזרות[336] ולוא להבר[337] 12 רוח מלא מאלה[338] יבוא לי עתה גם־אני אדבר
משפטים אותם

The fact that unit 4:11-12 still maintains a similar style in prose suggests that it probably belongs to the same stratum as vv. 9-10, but the occurrence of a new formula בעת ההיא (v. 11) opens a new unit, introducing the second response to vv. 5-8.[339] For these reasons, Reventlow has defended the integrity vv. 5-12, proposing that it reflects a cultic lament where the prophet fulfils a dual function, as messenger of doom and intercessor, but the role of mediator should not be misinterpreted as a prophet of peace or hope; such a two-fold function is characterised by the proclamation of calamity, which resembles images of holy war close to Joel 1–2, followed by two responses (vv. 9-11).[340] Whereas such responses certainly feature a liturgical structure, their exegetical nature cannot be easily dismissed,[341] but more problematic is the association of mythological features in 4:5-11 with eschatology, especially because the scope of the words of doom

[333] McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 93-95.
[334] Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 60-61.
[335] πνευμα πλανησεως.
[336] εις καθαρον = לזכות?
[337] εις αγιον = בר?
[338] Minus. The occurrence of מאלה might reflect a scribal corruption cf. Janzen, *Text*, 21; Ziegler, *Beiträge*, 87.
[339] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 162; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 128-29.
[340] Reventlow, *Liturgie*, 94-139.
[341] Wanke argues that it seems to be based on Jer 1:16 cf. Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol.1, 61.

appears localised rather than universalised besides the fact that they lack miraculous elements.[342] Such a colourful description of vast destruction seems more aligned with the voices of those who went through the horrific experiences of imperial violence than with just mythic imagination.[343] The image of רוח צח is a clear reference to divine judgement against the people, who are personified as בת־עמי,[344] as confirmed by the phrase גם־אני אדבר משפטים אותם (v. 12).

Jer 4:13-14

13 הנה בעננים יעלה וכסופה מרכבותיו
קלו מושרים סוסיו
אוי לנו כי שדדנו
14 כבסי מדעה לבך ירושלם
למען תושעי
עד־מתי תלין בקרבך מחשבות אונך

Since v. 13 presents similar structural patterns as vv. 5-7, some have suggested that there may be a continuation between these verses before their interruption by exegetical comments,[345] if this is the case, then, vv. 5-17 and 13 are possibly part of the same layer; nevertheless, in the present form its delimitation can be justified on the grounds that הנה opens a short lament (v. 13) complemented by an interpretative comment (v. 14) with the indication of another unit signalled by the

[342] Hoffmann, 'Eschatology', 79-80. Unless eschatology is considered a wide spectrum, which includes visionary experiences concerning a near future to the end times. See cf. Benjamin Uffenheimer, 'From Prophetic to Apocalyptic Eschatology', in *Eschatology in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, JSOTSup 243 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 201.

[343] Claassens borrows the language and images derived from real traumatic experience of the Babylonian assault against Judah in her critique against contemporary forms of violence cf. Juliana Claassens, 'The Hidden Wounds of Structural Violence: Exploring an Intersectional Understanding of Violence in Jeremiah 4–6', *OTE* 31 (2018):613-27. Similarly, Van Ruiten has argued that compared to the significant chaotic structure of Jeremiah, chapter 4 seems surprisingly well-organised cf. Jacques T.A.G.M. Van Ruiten, 'Back to Chaos: The Relationship Between Jeremiah 4:23–26 and Genesis 1', in *The Creation of Heaven and Earth: Re-interpretations of Genesis I in the Context of Judaism, Ancient Philosophy, Christianity, and Modern Physics*, ed. George H. Van Kooten, TBNJCT 8 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 26-27.

[344] See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 32; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 224; Hyatt, 'Jeremia', 836; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 156; R. Althann, 'Jeremiah IV 11-12: Stichometry, Parallelism, and Translation', *VT* 28 (1978):391.

[345] See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 163-64; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 156-57; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 62-63; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 131.

presence of a new announcement in v. 15. The combination of three similes (כעננים, וכסופה and מנשריים) in v. 13 speaks about the speedy approximation of ruin (אוי לנו כי שדדנו); thus, even though mythological language is employed here, it should not lead to rapid apocalyptic associations.[346]

As in v. 7, the second half of the unit (v. 14) also depicts Jerusalem as a woman and the fact that her salvation (תושעי) is conditional on purification (כבסי מרעה לבך), gives an impression that hope is still possible, but the following question עד־מתי תלין בקרבך מחשבות אונך may suggest that this is not the case, although some give the impression that salvation on the condition of repentance is still a possibility; for these scholars, calamity is near but has not materialised yet. [347] Whereas the language employed in vv. 5-7, 13 does lead to the mental picture of urgency and something that is about to happen, in the same manner that vv. 8-12 work as exegetical comments, which interpret such a disaster retrospectively, the same may be argued in terms of v. 14.[348] Holladay and McKane, correctly point out to the use of similar image in 2:22,[349] but this observation, which echoes some form of pietism and resonates with the repentance theology of Jeremiah 3, only strengthens the argument that destruction was already materialised and hence the need

[346] Lundbom talks about a quasi-apocalyptic vocabulary (cf. Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 347), but the fact that there is no reference to supernatural (or miraculous) intervention nor universalistic and futuristic perspectives raises serious challenges for the use of such a terminology and one may wonder if Christian eschatology from the book of Revelation might be influencing this interpretation. See Hoffmann, 'Eschatology', 76-77. Reventlow, argues that Daniel is the only apocalyptic writing in the OT/HB cf. Reventlow, 'Eschatologization', 188.

[347] Whilst Craig et al. do not mention explicitly the possibility of repentance for salvation, they also consider the invasion as something close. Others, however, are more explicit in terms of a possible repentance. See Volz, *Jeremia*, 55; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 34; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 225; Craig, et al., *Jeremiah*, 76. Others suggest that time for repentance is gone. See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 99; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 157; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 347; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 62-63; Stulman, *Jeremia*, 69.

[348] Despite that Duhm was thinking of the imminent Scythian invasion, he considered v. 14 an edifying verse interpolated in the poem; the secondary nature of v. 14 is also acknowledged by Hyatt, Schmidt and Carroll. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 50-51; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 836; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 131; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 164.

[349] See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 157; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 99.

for lament.[350] Whereas the rationale of act-consequence is widespread in the ANE and in the OT/HB, the knot between natural/physical and moral evil ends up even more entangled with the theologizing process linked with such a supplementation. As stated by Barton, prophets work similarly to talionic laws in which Yahweh appears as influencing world affairs and his judgement is depicted in forensic terms akin to Deuteronomistic literature and Lamentations, where punishment is presented as a consequence for transgression.[351]

Jer 4:15-18

15 כי קול מגיד מדן[352] ומשמיע און מהר אפרים
16 הזכירו לגוים הנה[353] השמיעו על־ירושלם
נצרים[354] באים מארץ המרחק ויתנו על־ערי יהודה קולם
17 כשמרי שדי היו עליה מסביב
כי־אתי מרתה
נאם־יהוה
18 דרכך[355] ומעלליך עשו אלה לך
זאת רעתך כי מר כי נגע עד־לבך
ס

The following announcement קול מגיד מדן ומשמיע און מהר אפרים (v. 15) starts a new unit with its limit clearly signed in the Masoretic text by the presence of ס (v. 18); the connection to the previous pericope is made possible by the conjunction כי.[356] This delimitation is also mirrored in the Greek match, as supported by the same proclamation (v. 15) and the change of image from v. 19 onwards. Although the pair מרעה מחמשבות אונך in v. 14 represents moral evil, the use of the term און in v. 15 has the sense of calamity and this unit works in the same way as unit 4:5-8. Misfortune is announced in Judah and נצרים באים מארץ המרחק (v. 16) reiterates a foreign invasion; however, the fact that v. 17 mentions היו עליה develops a picture of later chronological stage of the

[350] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 164.
[351] Barton, *Ethics*, 217-20.
[352] Plus ηξει.
[353] Plus εκασιν.
[354] συστροφαι = צרר.
[355] αιδδοι σου = דרכיך.
[356] See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 158; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 66; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 342; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 62-63.

attack in comparison to vv. 13-14, which some have interpreted in the light of the siege of Jerusalem,[357] but this unit follows the same pattern of vv. 5-8, 13-14, employing the 2.f.s. followed by exegetical comments.[358] Even though Brueggemann does not make a distinction between vv. 14-16 and 17-18, his suggestion that the writer creatively made an association of the internal failure of social life with the external threat of the Babylonian expansionist[359] campaign is insightful, as it reaffirms the act-consequence nexus,[360] hinting that vv. 1-8, 13-18 are probably part of the same strata.

Jer 4:19-22

19 מעי מעי אחולה[361] קירות לבי
המה־לי לבי לא אחריש
כי קול שובר שמעתי[362] נפשי תרועת מלחמה
20 שבר על־שבר נקרא כי שדדה כל־הארץ
פתאם שדדו אהלי רגע[363] ירישתי
21 עד־מתי אראה־נס[364] אשמעה קול שופר ס
22 כי אויל עמי אותי לא ידעו
בנים סכלים המה ולא נבונים המה[365]
הכמים המה להרע ולהיטיב לא ידעו

The change of image in v. 19 marks the beginning of a new unit, which the presence of ס in the Masoretic version is misleading because, as it happens throughout Jeremiah 4, there is a consistent pattern of short poetries followed by exegetical notes, which in this case is fulfilled by v. 22. Whilst previous poems in chapter 4 so far have explored mainly visual senses stimulated by pictorial images, this poem attempts a different avenue, concentrating on aural perceptions.[366]

[357] See Volz, *Jeremia*, 55; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 34; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 76; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 348; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 99.
[358] As observed by some commentators, vv. 17-18 reflect secondary features. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 51-52; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 836; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 132; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 221; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 100-101.
[359] Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 56.
[360] See Barton, *Ethics*, 217-20; Joo, *Provocation*, 225-30.
[361] αλγω = הלה.
[362] ηκουσεν = שמעת. Possibly reflects a double rendering in 𝔊-Jeremiah according to Ziegler, *Beiträge*, 90 and Janzen, *Text*, 30-31.
[363] διεσπασθησαν.
[364] φευγοντας = נוס.
[365] Minus.
[366] Rhiannon Graybill, '"Hear and Give Ear!" The Soundscape in Jeremiah', *JSOT* 40 (2016):467-90.

Strong emotions are represented by the pictures of internal organs, such as bowels or guts (מעי מעי אחולה), employed in v. 19 in allusion to distress and anxiety, as these organs were considered the centre of human emotions in Hebrew culture,[367] although this association is not far removed from physical symptoms attributed to anxiety and stress.[368] The cause of such distress is attributed to the sounds of war (כי קול שובר שמעתי נפשי תרועת מלחמה), which in the Modern world could easily fit within the language of post-traumatic stress.[369] In the following verses (vv. 20-21), the speaker talks about a high scale immediate destruction (שבר על־שבר), which includes his own roof, leading him to yearn for the end of such agony.

The place of vv. 19-22 within Jeremiah 4 seems to follow a coherent chronological development. After the announcement of disaster in vv. 5-8, there is reference of the threat approaching quickly in vv. 13-14; by vv. 15-18 the enemy is already on the doorstep and in vv. 19-22 the speaker is already experiencing great destruction.[370] The only difference between the interpretative comment in v. 22 and those exegetical notes in the previous units is that in this case there is no use of 2.f. portraying the city as a woman; however, the lack of this device can be explained on the grounds that the focus of the poem is on the speaker emotional distress instead of the city's destruction, but despite that, this supplement still associates natural/physical evil with moral evil. Different proposals have been suggested in terms of the identity of the speaker in this poem, such as the prophet expressing his inner struggles, a liturgical model (where the prophet plays a bifunctional role as a messenger of doom and intercessor) or Yahweh's voice.[371] A

[367] Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 102-103.
[368] McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 102.
[369] O'Connor, *Pain*, 2-6.
[370] Similar development of perception and cognition involving, 'seeing' and 'hearing' to achieve understanding also occurs in Jer 1:1–2:2 cf. Hayes, '"Hearing"', 99-119.
[371] Baumgartner was not the first one to notice the relationship between the Psalter and Jeremiah, but his contribution popularised the idea that the prophet borrowed psalms of lament and developed his own style expressing inner strugglers of the historical prophet cf. Baumgartner, *Klagegedichte*, 77. The following commentators vary in terms of the nature of the conflict faced by the prophet, but they all agree that

potential alternative is that the poem reflects the collective suffering voice of those who experienced atrocities of war.[372]

Jer 4:23-26

23 ראיתי את־הארץ והנה־תהו[373] ובהו
ואל־השמים ואין אורם
24 ראיתי ההרים והנה רעשים
וכל־הגבעות התקלקלו
25 ראיתי והנה אין האדם
וכל־עוף השמים נדדו
26 ראיתי והנה הכרמל המדבר
וכל־עריו נתצו[374] מפני יהוה מפני תרון אפו[375]
ס

Unit 4:23-26 is recognizable by a distinctive series of four visions (ראיתי...והנה), making ס in the Masoretic text redundant for the delimitation of the pericope; each section presents a contrast in which, particularly vv. 23 and 25, resonate with the language employed in Genesis 1:1–2:3 (and some may even include Genesis 2:4-25) creation account; although הרים and גבעות do not appear within the creation accounts, they are still strongly related to creation (e.g., Psa 65:7; 90:2; Prov 8:25). The second half of v. 26 explains the cause of such disintegration. Whilst the presence of cosmic imagery within this passage has unanimously led scholars to identify allusion to chaos and

the historical Jeremiah is the speaker. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 52-53; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 29; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 34; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 227-28; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 172; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 79; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 354; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 63-64. Miller, 'Jeremiah', 614. Reventlow presents completely different direction, considering the prophet as a figure, who delivers the message of doom and intercedes for the people cf. Reventlow, *Liturgie*, 94-139. This view seems to be followed by Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 69-70. Since Kumaki interprets the tents as a reference to the first temple, the speaker seems to be Yahweh cf. F. Kenro Kumaki, 'A New Look at Jer 4,19-22 and 10,19-21', *AJBI* 8 (1982):113-20. Fretheim argues that the suffering of prophet and God are so interconnected that it is difficult to make a sharp distinction between them and he suggests that the prophet is the embodiment of God's mourning in a way that both sympathises with the people's suffering cf. Fretheim, *Suffering*, 159-60.

[372] See Volz, *Jeremia*, 56; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 837; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 167; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 221-23. Korpel's unit delimitation, which considers the segmentation provided in ancient versions, seems to support those who argue that v. 22 is a secondary addition and concludes that the speaker is lady Zion cf. Marjo C. A. Korpel, 'Who is Speaking in Jeremiah 4:19-22? The Contribution of Unit Delimitation to an Old Problem', *VT* 59 (2009):88-98.

[373] ουθεν.

[374] εμπετυρισμεναι = נצתו. + πυρι.

[375] Plus ηφανισθησαν.

the reversal of creation,[376] some of them prematurely have associated it with (proto)apocalypticism.[377] However, the fact that the Greek text only has ουθεν has led Hayes to hypothesise that only a localised destruction was contemplated in v. 23 before its amplification to cosmic proportions during the transmission of the Masoretic text when ובהו was inserted.[378] Yet, even with such intensification this text still does not reflect all apocalyptic elements,[379] as a poem it hardly has any intention to present any projections of the future; it is completely acceptable that the disaster was hyperbolised through its universalisation, which resulted in the mythologization of the historical catastrophe.[380] As observed in other sections of Jeremiah 2–4, such a universal feature is common within priestly traditions.[381] In fact, some already have pointed out the presence of eschatological and even apocalyptic elements within priestly circles, making it unnecessary to push it further to apocalypticism.[382] Not only did the poetic imagination

[376] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 53-54; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 230; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 356-58; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 614; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 69; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 70-71; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 223-25; Hetty Lalleman, 'Jeremiah, Judgment and Creation', *TB* 60 (2009):15-24.

[377] See Volz, *Jeremia*, 50-51; Victor Eppstein, 'The Day of Yahweh in Jeremiah 4:23-28', *JBL* 87 (1968):93-97; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 168-70; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol.1, 64-65; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 81-82.

[378] Katherine M. Hayes, 'Jeremiah IV 23: TŌHŪ without BŌHÛ', *VT* 47 (1997):247-48.

[379] Even alleged futuristic texts in Jeremiah are not comparable to those presented in Daniel cf. Reventlow, 'Eschatologization', 188. But, perhaps, one of the most emblematic lacking features in Jeremiah is the dualistic eschatology evident in late writings. See Mark Adam Elliott, *The Survivals of Israel: A Reconsideration of the Theology of Pre-Christian Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2000), 515-73.

[380] See Childs, 'Enemy', 187-98; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 106-107; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 134-35; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 61; Van Ruiten, 'Chaos', 21-30; Hyun Chul Paul Kim, 'Tsunami, Hurricane, Jeremiah 4:23-28', *BTB* 37 (37):54-61.

[381] Agabo Borges de Sousa, 'Jer 4,23-26 als P-orientierter Absehnitt', *ZAW* 105 (1993):419-28. Despite Holladay's attribution of this passage to the historical Jeremiah, even he has recognised affinities with priestly traditions cf. Holladay, 'Recovery', 406. Fishbane has drawn insightful comparison from other biblical and ANE material, where paronomasia plays an important part in priestly-magical incantation, proposing the contrast between the Sabbath-rest and the wrath of Yahweh. See Michael Fishbane, 'Jeremiah IV 23-26 and Job III 3-13: A Recovered use of the Creation Pattern', *VT* 21 (1971):151-67.

[382] Suzanne Boorer, *The Vision of the Priestly Narrative: Its Genre and Hemerneutics of Time*, AIL 27 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2016), 179-213. Grabbe even contemplates the possibility that apocalypses could have been written by priestly and scribal institutions. See Lester L. Grabbe, 'The Social Setting of Early Jewish

recycle creation material giving the disaster cosmic proportions, but it also interpreted the exile as a divine intervention in which chaos is manifested as a response to the disturbance of the harmonic order.[383] Crouch's study on ANE war and ethics argues that behind the successful military campaigns there was the notion of divine-human alliance working in favour of the preservation of the cosmic order. Although she is aware 'pre-exilic' texts are accompanied by (post)exilic interpretation, she focuses on this material because it contains this particular cosmology; however, Crouch acknowledges that military failure raises serious issues for this worldview, which reflects exactly the circumstances of the exile because it implied that the deity abandoned the king and even Yahweh was defeated.[384] Crouch hints that theodicies might have developed from this situation, but she does not investigate this subject further. It is interesting to notice, however, that there is a certain negative perspective about the class of leadership (some texts of Jeremiah discussed previously includes kings). But, perhaps, more importantly is the fact that 𝔐-Jer 27:6 mentions ועתה אנכינתתי את־כלהארצות האלה ביד נבוכדנאצר מלך־בבל עבדי וגם את־חית השדה נתתי לו לעבדו. One might even wonder whether the disappearance of the monarchy alongside universalistic ideas replaced the local king by a foreign one and so the exile was understood as a new order.[385]

Apocalypticism', JSP 4 (1989):27-47; —, 'Prophets, Priests, Diviners and Sages in Ancient Israel', in *Of Prophets' Visions and the Wisdom of Sages: Essays in Honour of R. Norman Whybray on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Heather A McKay and David J. A. Clines, JSOTSup 162 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 43-62.

[383] The association of the exile as a consequence of impurity of the land appears in priestly texts like Lev 18:24-30, which already foresee punishments, such as the exile and destruction cf. Klawans, *Impurity*, 13-42. Janowski connects the use of creation language within the chaotic scenery of Jer 4:23-28, observing that within the priestly perspective misconducts threatens the harmonic order; the post-587/6 writer employed these notions in his interpretation of the disaster. See Bernd Janowski, 'Eine Welt ohne Licht: Zur Chaostopik von Jer 4:23-28 und verwandten Texten', in *Katastrophen und ihre Bewältigung*, ed. Angelika Berlejung (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 119-38.

[384] Crouch, *War*, 89.

[385] In fact, Thelle talks about the need for re-orientation after the collapse of the monarchy and the vanishing of the temple, arguing that Jeremiah presents a single

Jer 4:27-28

27 כי[386]־כה אמר יהוה
שממה תהיה כל־הארץ וכלה לא אעשה
28 על־זאת האבל הארץ וקדרו השמים ממעל
על כי־דברתי זמתי
ולא נחמתי ולא אשוב ממנה

For some commentaries, vv. 27-28 work as a confirmation of what has been said in the previous verses,[387] but the presence of the formula כה אמר יהוה in v. 27 indicates the beginning of a new pericope, which has only been connected to the previous unit by the conjunction כי in the Masoretic version. Whereas the recurrent pattern in Jeremiah 4 in which poems about disaster are followed by exegetical comments challenges the separation of vv. 27-28 from 23-26, some have argued that there is a clear rupture hinted by messianic hope expressed in the short sentence וכלה לא אעשה.[388] Such suggestion of a later insertion, however, has not remained uncontested, as linguistic issues involved in this brief phrase[389] have raised serious challenges. But if there is no support for a remnant theology in this unit, then, one needs to justify this unit delimitation and the simpler answer would be confirmed by the phrase כי־דברתי ולא נחמתי ולא־אשוב ממנה in v. 28. Here again Carroll's association of וקדרו השמים with apocalyptic image seems too precocious,[390] as the participation of natural elements in prophetic

contribution in terms of its attempt to re-establishing the '*axis mundi* between heaven and earth' cf. Thelle, 'MT Jeremiah', 187-89.

[386] Minus.

[387] See Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 230-31; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 81; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 614-15; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 59-61; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 70-71; Kim, 'Tsunami', 54-61.

[388] This feature has led some to consider it as a secondary gloss cf. Duhm, *Jeremia*, 54; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 841. Fischer notes that the clause וכלה לא אעשה also appears in other parts of Jeremiah as well as outside the book (e.g., Jer 5:10, 18; 30:11; 46:28; Ez 20:17; Neh 9:31). See Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 226. Even some scholars who argue that vv. 27-28 resume the previous unit consider these verses redactional. See Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 135-36; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 65-66; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 70; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 358-59.

[389] Different textual reconstructions have been suggested. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 54; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 30; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 109; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 167. Based on linguistic comparisons with Ugaritic, Soggin suggests that it might have the sense of something definite, which is also a position shared by Althann. See J. Alberto Soggin, 'La "Negaziones" in Ger 4,27 e 5,10a, cfr. 5,18b', *Bib* 46 (1965):56-59; Althann, *Philological*, 103.

[390] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 170-71.

literature is not unusual; for instance, Jer 2:12 employs them in a similar way; nonetheless, his suggestion of a cosmic funeral concurs with McKane, who suggests the approaching death of Judah.[391] The further intensification of the invading forces of chaos is by no means apocalyptic, but, as argued by Janowski, they find parallels in Egyptian cosmology in reference to the disturbance of *Ma'at*.[392] In this regard, there is no dualistic theodicy, where good and evil are in conflict, but creation and chaos are considered part of the divine activity.

Jer 4:29-31

29 מקול פרש ורמה קשת ברחת כל־רעיר[393]
באו[394] בעבים ובכפים עלו
כל־העיר עזובה ואין־יושב בהן איש
30 ואתי שדוד[395] מה־תעשי כי־תלבשי שני
כי־תעדי עדי־זהב
כי־תקרעי בפוך עיניך
לשוא תתיפי מאסו־בך עגבים נפשך יבקשו
31 כי קול כחולה שמעתי צרה[396] כמבכירה
קול בת־ציון תתיפח הפרש כפיה
אוי־נא לי כי־עיפה נפשי להרגים[397]
פ

The last unit of Jeremiah 4 shifts from the cosmic back to earthly images and its limits is indicated by the presence of פ in the Masoretic text; nevertheless, the same boundaries are to be found in the Greek version because of the change of content from 5:1 onwards. The pair מקול פרש ורמה קשת returns to the earthly reality in which כל־העיר עזוכה ואיו־יושב בהן איש strongly suggests that the invasion already took place despite the hyperbolic tone (v. 29).[398] Judah is portrayed as a woman

[391] McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 109.
[392] See Janowski, 'Welt', 119-38.
[393] χωρα = הארץ.
[394] εις τα στηλαια και … εκρυθησαν.
[395] Minus.
[396] του στεναγμου σου.
[397] επι τοις ανηιρημενοις.
[398] As in other texts, some scholars consider these texts with reference to the foreign invaders before an imminent invasion. Suggestions vary between the Scythians and different years during the neo-Babylonian period. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 54-55; Hyatt, 'Peril', 511-12; —, 'Beginning', 204-18; Whitley, 'Date, 467-83; —, 'Carchemish', 38-49; Sweeney, 'Structure', 200-18; Hardmeier, 'Redekomposition',11-42; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 232-33; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 172; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 370.

in the same way that vv. 7, 14, 17-18 represent it. It is possible that the aesthetic and cosmetic descriptions might be a critique against Judah's past political alliances along the lines of disapproval presented in 2:14-19; 3:1-5; such affinities strengthen the argument that disaster already materialised and in logical terms it would not make sense to have laments before 587/6 BCE.[399] The presence of the conjunction כי in v. 31 indicates a move towards the conclusion, employing the metaphor of a woman in labour to represent the agony of Zion at the hands of the invaders. Despite the fact that the use of pictures of violence against women might be disturbing for the modern audience, the poem echoes the horrors of warfare in which women were included amongst the spoils of war.[400]

Jer 5:1-6

1 שוטטו בחוצות ירושלם וראו־נא ודעו
ובקשו ברחובותיה אם־תמצאו איש
אם־יש עשה משפט מבקש אמונה
ואסלח לה[401]
2 ואת[402] הי־יהוה יאמרו
לכן[403] לשקר ישבעו
3 יהוה עיניך הלוא[404] לאמונה
הכיתה אתה ולא־החלו
כליתם מאנו קחת מוסר
חזקו פניהם מסלע
מאנו לשוב
4 ואני אמרתי אך־דלים הם[405] נואלו
כי לא ידעו דרך יהוה משפט אלהיהם
5 אלכה־לי[406] אל־הגדלים ואדברה אותם
כי המה ידעו דרך יהוה משפט אלהיהם
אך המה יחדו שברו על נתקו מוסרות
6 על־כן הכם אריה מיער

[399] See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 172; Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 128-129; Kratz, *Propheten*, 77-79; Middlemas, *Troubles*, 226-228; Pham, *Mourning*, 13; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 66-67.
[400] See Thompson, 'Israel's', 475-81; Baumann, *Liebe*, 40; Moughtin-Murphy, *Sexual*, 103-104; Chapman, *Gendered*, 112-17; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 83-84; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 61-62; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 615; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 173.
[401] Plus λεγει κυριος.
[402] λεγει = נאם. + κυριος = יהוה.
[403] Plus ουκ.
[404] Minus.
[405] Plus διοτι.
[406] Minus.

זאב ערבות[407] ישדדם
נמר שקד על־עריהם
כל־היוצא מהנה יטרף
כי רבו פשעיהם עצמו משבותיהם

A series of imperatives marks the beginning of a new unit the limits of which can be determined by the shift to the theme of forgiveness and different types of accusations after v. 6.[408] At a first glance unit 5:1-6 seems out of place giving the impression of an interruption of the foe from the North cycle, but a closer look at its content suggests plausible connections; the problem of suffering involving innocents in the face of disaster naturally raises the 'why' questions.[409] There are, however, traces of editorial expansions in this unit, such as the following exegetical comments ואסלח לה (v. 1), הכיתה אתם ולא־חלו כליתם מאנו קחת מוסר חזקו פניהם מסלע מאנו לשוב (v. 3), possibly שברו על נתקו מוסרות (v. 5) and כי רבו פשעיהם עצמו משבותיהם (v. 6).[410]

The successive imperatives (שוטטו... וראו־נא ודעו ובקשו) set up a challenge, questioning whether a single righteous person (עשה משפט מבקש אמונה cf. v. 1) can be found in the city. Whereas the identity of the speaker is clarified by the verses ahead, this is not the case in terms of the ambiguous addressee; suggestions vary between the prophet and divine council (e.g., Gen 11:7; Isa 40:1),[411] but the presence of 2.m.p. in v. 1 discards the former.[412] The following contrast (ואם הי־יהוה יאמרו לכו לשקר ישבעו v. 2) suggests an ongoing discussion on what true Yahwism consists of whilst the phrase יהוה עינך הלוא לאמונה (v. 3) reinforces the quest for a pious soul. In addition, the contrast between

[407] εως των οικων = עד בית.
[408] See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 114; Carroll, 'Theodicy', 26.
[409] See Síwek, *Philosophy*, 15; Ricoeur, *Mal*, 29-33; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 31; Carroll, 'Theodicy', 19-38; —, Jeremiah, vol. 1, 174; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 68; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 141.
[410] Duhm does not consider the second half of verse 6 part of the unit, but Wanke is the one who notices the interpretative function of the phrases above. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 58. Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 68. Note that the city is addressed by the use of the 2.f.s. לה; also, there are remarkable resemblances with the language of Jeremiah 2, which Carroll relates to the Deuteronomistic ideology cf. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 177.
[411] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 56; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 843-45; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 114; Carroll, 'Theodicy', 22; —, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 175.
[412] See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 114; Carroll, 'Theodicy', 26.

ואני אמרתי אך־דלים הם נואלו כי לא ידעו דרך יהוה משפט אלהיהם and אלכה־לי אל־הגדלים ואדברה אותם כי המה ידך יהוה משפט אלהים (vv. 4-5), which gives an initial elitist impression, also denounces a full-scale corruption, as it is indicated by אך המה; this suggests a supplementary relationship, disclosing a massive degeneration since neither of them knows דרך יהוה משפט אלהיהם. The last verse employs images of beasts attacking the towns as a result for not meeting the criteria (על־כן הכם אריה מיער זאב ערבות ישדדם נמר שקד על־עריהם כל־היוצא מהנה יטרף v. 6).

Commentators are unanimous in finding striking parallels with the Abraham's story about the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (cf. Gen 18:23-33) and some of them also observe similarities with the legend of Diogenes with his lantern in the streets of Athens searching for one honest soul (cf. *Diog Laer* 6:41).[413] However, the inclusion of vv. 7ff. within the same unit by some commentators[414] obfuscates the identification of different shades of evil, but once potential redactional insertions are removed and the unit is properly segmented, there is a strong possibility that social issues are at stake, as social justice plays a fundamental part within the prophetic discourse.[415] Weinfeld argues that righteousness was considered as a divine attribute granted to the kings for the execution of justice (e.g., Psa 72:1-2); social justice was often represented by the word pair משפט וצדקה (e.g., Isa 11:4; Psa 9:9; 58:2) and intertextual links with Genesis 18 are relevant here, as משפט וצדקה followed by דרך (e.g., Gen 18:19) reflect a philosophy of life.[416] Close connections between 5:1-6 and Jeremiah 22:15 observed by

[413] See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 31; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 39; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 844; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 236; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 115; Carroll, 'Theodicy', 22; —, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 175; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 176; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 68-69; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 618-19; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 62-63; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 72-73; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 87; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 376; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 238.
[414] See Volz, *Jeremia*, 60-61; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 31; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 41; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 843-49; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 233-34; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 173-74; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 618; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 71-72; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 85-86; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 375; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 72; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 237.
[415] See Houston, *Justice*, 81-84; Gottwald, *Social*, 60-72.
[416] Weinfeld, *Social*, 25-32.

Wanke[417] are also meaningful here because it confirms the divine gift bestowed upon the monarchs for the exercise of justice well-illustrated by the contrast between King Josiah and King Jehoiakim.[418]

Some scholars have argued that these verses reflect the disappointment of the young Jeremiah in the capital after moving from the rural area,[419] whilst others have dated vv. 1-6(9ff.) between the end of King Josiah's time and the early years of King Jehoiakim claiming that the reform was shallow.[420] Such biographical reconstructions, however, are not fruitful and it is arguably naïve to take such universal depravation in a literal sense. Although the quotations in Jeremiah 2 work as a rhetorical device, it is not unreasonable to think that the people's claim to be innocent in earlier chapters (ותאמרי כי נקיתי cf. 2:35) could have reflected the way that part of the audience thought about themselves; in addition, in some later verses the people blame Yahweh for the disaster (והיה כי תאמרו תחת מה עשה יהוה אלהינו לנו את־כל־אלה cf. 5:19).[421] Carroll's intertextual exercise involving texts, such as Gen 18:22-23; Job 9:22-24; Jer 15:1-3; Ezek 14:12-20; 19:1-14, reveals a substantial diverse theodical perspectives on how the righteous and wicked were affected. Whilst some cases support the idea that the presence of righteousness guarantees some form of immunity against disaster, other cases endorse the notion that even righteous people are subjected to suffering; still, in other instances even the presence of the righteous could not prevent disaster and in some cases even intercessions for the wicked were ineffective.[422] The limitation of space here does not allow us to explore every single case in detail, but one crucial aspect to considers is Jeremiah's biased perspective towards the

[417] Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 68.
[418] See Maier, *Lehrer*, 231-36; Milton Schwantes, *Das Recht der Armen*, BBET 4 (Frankfurt, Bern and Las Vegas, NV: Peter Lang, 1977), 113-26.
[419] See Duhm, Jeremia, 56-58; Volz, Jeremia, 60-61.
[420] See Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 234-36; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 176; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 87; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 384.
[421] Joo, *Provocation*, 2-3.
[422] Carroll, 'Theodicy', 27-35.

survivors in the exile, which might well have influenced the radical type of theodicy represented in Jer 5:1-6.[423]

Jer 5:7-9

7 אי לזאת אסלות־לך
בניך עזבוני
וישבעו בלא אלהים
ואשבע אותם וינאפו
ובית זונה יתגדדו[424]
8 סוסים מיזנים משכים[425] היו
איש אל־אשת רעהו יצהלו
9 העל־אלה לוא־אפקד
נאם־יהוה
ואם בגוי אשר־כזה לא תתנקם נפשי
ס

As mentioned above, some commentators link unit 5:7-9 with the previous one; such decision is not unfounded due to clear connections of the themes of pardon (אי לזאת אסלוח־לך cf. v. 7) and retribution (העל־ אלה לוא־אפקד... ואם בגוי אשר־כזה לא תתנקם נפשי cf. v. 9),[426] but these connections are only established due to exegetical comments. Also, the fact that vv. 7-9 are framed by two rhetorical questions[427] in conjunction with the presence of ס in the Masoretic text after v. 9 only strengthens the case for the current delimitation. It also finds support in its Greek counterpart because of the change of topic from v. 10 onwards. The fundamental difference here is the reference of idolatry (וישבעו בלא אלהים 5:7 similar to לא אלהים cf. 2:11), which moves the accusations in the previous unit to the next level; also, the way in which v. 7 is structured reminds of the manner 2:5-13 organises its argument, as illustrated in the table below:

Jer 2:5, 7	Structure	Jer 5:7
מה־מצאו אבויכם בי עול	Rhetorical question	אי לזאת־לך
כי רחקו מעלי וילכו אחרי ההבל ויהבלו	Apostasy	בניך עזבוני וישבעו בלא אלהים

[423] See Carroll, 'Theodicy', 27-35; —, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 174-77; Pohlmann, *Studien*,183-90; Sharp, *Prophecy*, 157-58; Rom-Shiloni, 'Group', 17-24.
[424] κατελυον = יתגררו.
[425] θηλυμανεις = זן?
[426] See Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 143-44; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 619; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 63.
[427] See Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 239; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 69.

ואשבע אותם	Divine provision	ואביא אתכם אל־ארץ הכרמל לאכל פריה וטובה
וינאפו ובית זונה יתגדדו	Ingratitude	ותבאו ותטמאו את־ארצי ונחלתי שמתם לתועבה

The following image (סוסים מיונים משפים היו איש אל־אשת רעהו יצהלו cf. v. 8) resembles the metaphors of the animals in heat employed in 2:23-24 (בכרה קלה משרכת דרכיה פרה למד מדבר באות נפשו שאפה רוח תאנתה), which were employed to illustrate the people's disloyalty and the rhetorical question in the last verse (העל־אלה לוא־אפקד נאם־יהוה ואם בגוי אשר־כזה לא תתנקם נפשי cf. v. 9) is virtually identical to vv. 5:29 and 9:8.[428]

Some commentators interpret the reference of ובית זונה and אל־אשת רעהו יצהלו literally as an accurate description of the social reality, although there are variations in terms of the proposed settings because some scholars locate these verses between the end of King Josiah's time and the beginning of the rule of King Jehoiakim; the rationale is that the Josianic reform was superficial and cultic harlotry was still operational whilst others limit themselves to the state of social depravation which included adultery.[429] Nevertheless, these literal interpretation might reflect a self-projection of modern anachronistic pietist values comparable to the way ancient civilization described the others as barbarians.[430] On the one hand, it is reasonable to argue that metaphors derive from the real world; on the other hand, the frequent use of stereotypical representation from Deuteronomistic circles should not be minimised. As observed above, the connection between v. 7 and 8 follows the pattern of Jeremiah 2, which strongly suggests that such images were used as illustrations of apostasy and the people's uncontrollable inclination towards unfaithfulness.[431]

[428] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 58; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 69; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 174, 181; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 74.
[429] See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 32; Volz, *Jeremia*, 63; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 846; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 235, 240-41; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 620; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 64; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 73; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 87-88; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 176, 180-81; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 384; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 241-42.
[430] See Levinson, *Deuteronomy*, 148-49; Barstad, *Religious*, 21-23; Watts, *Ritual*, 173-92; Chan, *Evil*, 3-34.
[431] See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 118-19; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 179-80.

Jer 5:10-11

10 עלו בשרותיה ושחתו
וכלה אל־תעשו
הסירו נטישותיה
כי לוא ליהוה[432] המה
11 כי בגוד בגדו בי בית ישראל ובית יהודה
נאם־יהוה

There is no consensus amongst commentators in terms of the delimitation of vv. 10-11, most of them consider these verses part of a larger unit with variations ranging from vv. 7 to 19,[433] the criterion here is determined by the change of image and the oracular formula נאם־יהוה (vv. 10-11).[434] Although this delimitation is also reflected in the Greek text, בשרותיה in v. 10 is translated as επι τους προμαχωνας αυτης, which finds the support of other ancient translations, such as 𝔙 and 𝔖, and the context of Job 24:11.[435] Nevertheless, the fact that the clause הסירו נטישותיה uses 3f.s. makes it difficult to decide between 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah. The phrase וכלה אל־תעשו (v. 10) has led some scholars to see it as pruning the branches separating the wild deteriorated vine from the remnants,[436] but as already argued in 4:27, a comparison with Ugaritic language suggests that it might carry the idea of certainty,[437] which fits perfectly with the context of הסירו נטישותיה כי לוא ליהוה המה (v. 10). There are evident parallels between כי בגוד בגדו בי בית ישראל ובית יהוד (v. 11) and 3:6-11,[438] which the interpretation of the fate of Israel and Judah, suggests that this unit belongs to a late layer.

[432] οτι του κυριου εισιν.
[433] There are variations in terms of the unit delimitation, ranging from v. 7 to 19. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 59; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 32; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 241; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 117; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 182; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 89; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 73; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 620; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 243; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 145; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 72-73.
[434] See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 70; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 76.
[435] McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 117.
[436] See Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 847; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 243; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 65; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 92.
[437] Soggin, 'Negaziones', 56-59.
[438] See Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 70; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 181-82; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 76; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 243.

Jer 5:12-14

12 כחשו ביהוה
ויאמרו לא־הוא
ולא־תבוא עלינו רעה
וחרב[439] ורעב לוא נראה
13 והנביאים יהיו לרוח
והדבר[440] אין בהם
כה יעשה להם ס
14 לכן כה־אמר יהוה אלהי[441] צבאות
יען דברכם את־הדבר הזה
הנני נתן דברי בפיך לאש
והעם הזה עצים ואכלתם

Unit 5:12-14 is based on a sample of the conflict against the prophets and for this reason the presence of ס cannot be used as a reference for delimitation here. At a first look the identities of the speaker and the audience in v. 12 are unclear,[442] but considering that a vv. 15ff. moves to a different topic and the context in which v. 12 appears; then, the most likely conclusion is that the object of criticism are the prophets.[443] Yet, it is not clear if the speaker is Yahweh or Jeremiah since the deity seems to speak in Jer 23:9-40 whereas chapter 28 narrates the conflict between Jeremiah and prophet Hananiah. Although Jeremiah 26–29 do not use the word כחשו, Overholt notices that the term שקר appears 9 times within these chapters often referring to the predictions of a short exile, which had the clash between pro-Egyptian and pro-Babylonian parties at the centre of the debate.[444] More important, however, is the scepticism regarding the coming disaster represented by the triad רעה וחרב ורעב in which Sutcliffe argues that לא־הוא reflects the denial of the imminent judgment.[445] Despite the

[439] και λογος κυριου = ודבר.
[440] Plus κυριου.
[441] Minus.
[442] Some commentators interpret that Jeremiah is the speaker and consider the chance that the addressment in v. 12 might refer to the people. See Volz, *Jeremia*, 63-64; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 848; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 242; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 183; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 186; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 391; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 92; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 226; Stulman, Jeremiah, 72-73.
[443] See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 121; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 71-72; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 76.
[444] Overholt, *Threat*, 24-36.
[445] Edmund F. Sutcliffe, 'A Note on לא הוא Jer 5,12', *Bib* 41 (1960):287-90.

relevance of Overholt's observation to this discussion, his interpretation takes this narrative material at face value without giving much attention to the ideological agenda towards those who favour Babylon.[446] A clear reference against the prophets only appears in v. 13, where there is a play on words involving רוח, as its meaning can be either 'spirit' or 'wind', but the latter seems to be the case here. Some commentators have interpreted it as a reference to the pessimist prophets, whose words of doom did not materialise.[447] There are parallels with 2:8, where it mentions והנביאים נבאו בבעל ואחרי לא־יועלו הלכו, but since the idea prophets being wind in the sense of nothingness is closely related to the fact that והדבר אין בהם, McKane rejects suggestions of a conflict against ecstatic prophets.[448] Steiner, however, has argued that the accusation in 5:13 followed by an imprecatory conclusion in the next verse justifies the use of a colloquialism, similar to the use of Aramaism, in response to the charges.[449] Presumably, יען דברכם את־הדבר הזה (v. 14) refers to the prophets' denial of the coming judgment, resulting in Yahweh effectuating his words through Jeremiah, who is addressed by 2.ms. (הנני נתן דברי בפיך לאש והעם הזה עצים ואכלתם). It is possible that this theology of the word emerged from the confirmation of the words of doom and was adopted in the editorial process of the book from an early stage, beginning with the laments, and had a central role in the formation of Jeremiah as a prophet of disaster.[450]

[446] See Pohlmann, *Studien*, 184ff; Seitz, *Conflict*, 1-5; Rom-Shiloni, 'Group', 46; Sharp, *Prophecy*, 157.
[447] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 59-60; Volz, *Jeremia*, 63-64.
[448] McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 122.
[449] Richard C. Steiner, 'A Colloquialism in Jer. 5:13 from the Ancestor of Mishnaic Hebrew', *JSS* 37 (1992):11-21.
[450] Christoph Levin, 'Das Wort Jahwes an Jeremia: Zur altesten Redaktion der jeremianischen Sammlung', *ZThK* 101 (2004):257-80.

Jer 5:15-17

15 הנני מביא עליכם גוי ממרחק בית ישראל
נאם־יהוה
גוי איתן הוא גוי מעולם הוא[451]
גוי לא־תדע[452]
ולא תשמע מה־ידבר
16 אשפתו כקבר פתוח[453]
כלם גבורים
17 ואכל קצירך ולחמך
יאכלו בניך ובנותיך
יאכל צאנך ובקרך
יאכל גפנך ותאנתך[454]
ירשש ערי מבצריך
אשר אתה בוטח בהנה בחרב

The presence of ואכל in v. 17 should not mislead to the conclusion that vv. 15-17 are part of the same unit, as reflected in some commentaries.[455] The change of addressee (בית ישראל cf. v. 15 referring to Judah as previously mentioned) in conjunction with the return of the theme of imminent invasion indicate the beginning of a new unit closing in v. 18 since there is a shift from poetry to prose in vv. 18-19.[456] Such unit division is also applicable to the Greek version, but the substantial differences compared to the Hebrew text (vv. 15-16) should not be decided on the grounds of textual expansion, as there is a high probability that this case reflects haplography and the only possible case of textual growth might be και τους ελαιωνας υμων (cf. 𝔊-Jer 5:17), which suggests an expansion in the transmission of the Greek tradition.[457] The allusion to Deut 28:49ff. in v. 15 and the stylistic repetition of גוי combined with the pattern of v. 17, strongly suggest a curse ritual, which is confirmed by the context of breaking the covenant

[451] Minus.
[452] Minus.
[453] Minus.
[454] Plus και τους ελαιωνας υμων.
[455] See Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 242; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 393; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 90-91; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 65; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 72-73.
[456] See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 42; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 123.
[457] See Janzen, *Text*, 97, 117; Ziegler, *Beiträge*, 103.

in Deuteronomy 28.[458] The identity of the approaching invaders (v. 16) has caused extensive discussion in Jeremiah studies and it has been covered over the course of this research; for this reason, there is no need for extensive comments. Proposals, such as the Scythians, Alexander the Great or an eschatological judgment,[459] are rejected. Despite the absence of the term צפון in this unit, the view adopted here accepts the suggestion that it refers to the origins of the judgment, where the deities reside.[460] This, however, does not exclude that Babylon was Yahweh's instrument of punishment in Jeremiah's case, but it is also possible that such curses could have been applied to other foreign threats, such as the Assyrians (cf. Isa 5:26), and recycled later to the situation involving the 587/6 BCE crisis even though Babylon is not mentioned by name.[461] Yet, the fact that the text gives an impression of imminent invasion does not necessarily mean that it reflects the period in which these verses were written, as suggested by some.[462] A separation between the literary world and the one in which the text was produced might provide a case that these verses were written in retrospect.[463]

Jer 5:18-19

18 וגם[464] בימים ההמה נאם־יהוה[465] לא־אעשה אתכם כלה 19 והיה כי תאמרו
תחת מה עשה יהוה אלהינו לנו את־כל־אלה ואמרת אליהם כאשר עזבתם[466]
אותי[467] ותעבדו[468] אלהי נכר בארצכם כן תעבדו זרים בארץ לא לכם ס

[458] See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 185; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 123.
[459] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 61-62; Vaggione, 'Asia?' 523-30; Yamauchi, 'Scythians', 90-99; Volz, *Jeremia*, 65; Torrey, 'Background', 193-216.
[460] Reimer, 'Foe', 223-32.
[461] Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 73-74. It has been suggested that the enemy within Jeremiah 1–25 was not originally Babylon cf. Ackroyd, *Exile*, 50-52. Since scribes had access to royal documents and oracles were kept in archives, there is a chance that material addressed to other circumstances was integrated within the composition of later biblical books with application to new situations. See Van Der Toorn, *Scribal*, 51-108.
[462] See Hyatt, 'Peril', 511-12; —, 'Beginning', 204-18; Whitley, 'Date, 467-83; —, 'Carchemish', 38-49; Sweeney, 'Structure', 200-18; Hardmeier, 'Redekomposition', 11-42; —, 'Wahrhaftigkeit', 121-44.
[463] See Weeks, 'Jeremiah', 248-49; —, 'Predictive', 38-44.
[464] και εσται = והיה.
[465] Plus ο θεος σου.
[466] ανθ ων.
[467] Minus.
[468] εδουλευσατε.

The pericope covering 5:18-19 is linked to the previous unit by וגם. Yet as mentioned above, the change to prose signals a different unit, which closes with ס in v. 19.[469] Despite short exegetical expansions in both textual traditions, such as ο θεος σου and עזבתם אותי, this unit division is still maintained in the Greek version. In the same manner of 3:16, 18, the transitional temporal formula בימים ההמה נאם־יהוה (5:18)[470] opens this unit with vv. 18-19 considered an editorial unit by a number of scholars.[471] The phrase לא־אעשה אתכם כלה, which has led many commentators to mistakenly interpret 4:27 and 5:10 as references to the remnants does not imply a definite judgement here; unlike 4:27 and 5:10, where אתכם כלה does carry the sense of a definite judgment,[472] לא־ אעשה אתכם כלה presumes the survival of part of the population.[473] Even though some commentators resist the idea that the exile already happened,[474] the question כי תאמרו תחת מה עשה יהוה אלהינו לנו את־כל־אלה followed by the answer כאשר עזבתם אותי ותעבדו אלהי נכר בארצכם כן תעבדו זרים בארץ לא לכם (v. 19), which are introduced as a theodical justification, can hardly challenge that the exile is a concrete reality; using Thiel's words:

> Daß sie hier keine eschatologische Zukunft meint, etwas Letztes, Endgültiges, wird durch den Inhalt von v. 19 deutlich. Der Verfasser zielt mit diesem Zukunftsbezug nämlich auf ein bestimmtes Ereignis in der Geschichte, das für ihn schon Gegenwart ist, vom Standpunkt des jer. Kontextes her aber als (fiktive) Zukunft gestaltet werden mußte.[475]

[469] McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 123.
[470] De Vries, *Old*, 142.
[471] Duhm includes v. 17 as part of a later writer composition whilst Volz divides vv. 18-19 into two different authors: one contemporary to the remnants and the other situated within the exilic period. Others, including Bright, follow the suggestion of the exilic writer. Thiel, Wanke and Carroll are more explicit in terms of attributing to a Deuteronomistic editor. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 61-62; Volz, Jeremia, 65; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 35; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 42; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 850; Thiel, *Jeremiah 1–25*, 97-99; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 73-74; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 126; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 185-86; Schmidt, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 149; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 620.
[472] Soggin, 'Negaziones', 56-59.
[473] See Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 245; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 126-27; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 186; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 92; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 66; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 621; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 73.
[474] See Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 245; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 190; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 399; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 92; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 78.
[475] Thiel, *Jeremiah 1–25*, 97-98.

Although vv. 18-19 does not make reference to the term הכעיס, the question כי תאמרו תחת מה עשה יהוה אלהינו לנו את־כל־אלה (v. 19) interprets the words of doom in the previous units as divine judgment for תעבדו זרים בארץ לא לכם, which corresponds with the pattern of provocation proposed by Joo.[476]

Jer 5:20-25

20 הגידו זאת בבית יעקב והשמיעות ביהודה לאמר[477]
21 שמעו־נא זאת עם סכל ואין לב
עינים להם ולא יראו
אזנים להם ולא ישמעו
22 האותי לא־תיראו
נאם־יהוה
אם מפני לא תחילו
אשר־שמתי חול גבול לים
חק־עולם ולא יעברנהו
ויתגעשו ולא יוכלו
והמו גליו ולא יעברנהו
23 ולעם הזה היה לב סורר ומורה
סרו וילכו
24 ולא־אמרו בלבבם נירא נא את־יהוה אלהינו
הנתן[478] גשם וירה ומלקוש בעתן
שבעות[479] חקות קציר ישמר־לנו
25 עונותיכם הטו־אלה
וחטאותיכם מנעו הטוב מכם

Following a range of a different criteria, many scholars have considered vv. 20-29(31) a single unit.[480] Yet, the fact that vv. 26ff. present a different topic in conjunction with a new rubric support vv. 20 and 25 as the limits of this pericope;[481] such a delimitation is also sustained by both 𝔐- and 𝔊-Jeremiah textual traditions. As argued earlier, it is improbable that בית יעקב refers to the former northern kingdom; in addition, the fact that the patriarch Jacob is referred to by

[476] Joo, *Provocation*, 155-223.
[477] Minus.
[478] Plus ημιν.
[479] ηλληρωσεως = שבע.
[480] See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 194; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 66-69; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 620-21; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 73-75; A. A. Da Silva, 'Die funksie van die skepppingstradisie in Jeremia 5:20-29', *HTS* 43 (1987):743-44.
[481] See Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 35; Volz, *Jeremia*, 65-67; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 74-75; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 851-52; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 127-28; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 187-88; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 400.

the shorter spelling instead of the longer spelling יעקוב cannot be used as evidence for an early date of composition.[482] As in 4:5, the heading הגידו זאת בבית יעקב והשמיעות ביהודה לאמר here also suggests a late date of composition.[483] The name יעקב was changed to ישראל (cf. Gen 32:28)[484] and, as the title ישראל appropriated by Judah,[485] it should not be a surprise to see the same could have happened with the name יעקב, which seems confirmed by the pair בבית יעקב and ביהודה.[486] Due to the change of addressees, McKane argues that vv. (20)21-22 and 23-25 should be seen as two units,[487] but such a further segmentation might be unnecessary, as there is a precedent involving shifts of addressees in vv. 12-14. Despite the absence of a direct reference to the idols, the fact that the language used in v. 21 (עם סכל ואין לב עינים להם ולא יראו אזנים להם ולא ישמעו) resembles Isa 40:12-17 may support a deliberate iconoclastic project behind it, which gives clue to a late composition.[488] There are also echoes of wisdom tradition in vv. 22, particularly the themes of the fear of Yahweh (האותי לא־תיראו...אם מפני לא תחילו) and creation (שמתי חול גבול לים חק־עולם ולא ישבנהו ויתגעשו ולא יוכלו והמו גליו ולא יעברנהו)[489] which are combined here as an illustration of the natural boundaries imposed by the deities in contrast to the people's rebellion (ולעם הזה היה לב סורר ומורה סרו וילכו v. 23).[490] Both sapiencial and creation traditions, which share common features with natural theology,[491] emerge again in v. 24 (ולא־אמרו בלבבם נירא נא את־יהוה אלהינו הנתן גשם וירה ומלקוש בעתו שבעות הקות קציר ישמר־לנו). The retributive logic

[482] Hornkohl has argued that the full spelling of the patriarch Jacob is a characteristic of LBH, which only occurs in the second part of Jeremiah, especially in those sections that scholars consider late cf. Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 73-74.
[483] Odashima, 'Weitblick', 270-84.
[484] Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 151.
[485] See Soggin, *Storia*, 301; Pohlmann, *Ferne*, 119.
[486] McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 128.
[487] Ibid., 128
[488] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 62-61; Volz, *Jeremia*, 66; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 851-52; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 187; Middlemas, *Divine*, 80-83.
[489] Ahn, 'Wisdom', 177-93; Lalleman, 'Jeremiah', 15-24.
[490] See Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 74-75; Da Silva, 'funksie', 741-54.
[491] James Barr, *Biblical Faith and Natural Theology: The Gifford Lectures for 1991 Delivered in the University of Edinburgh* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 84-94.

along similar lines of 3:3 appears once more in v. 25 (עונותיכם הטו־אלה וחטאותיכם מנעו הטוב מכם), which is probably a later reflection.[492]

Jer 5:26-29

26 כי־נמצאו בעמי רשעים
ישור כשך[493] יקושים
הציבו משחית אנשים ילכדו
27 ככלוב[494] מלא עוף כן בתיהם מלאים מרמה
על־כן גדלו ויעשירו
28 שמנו עשתו[495]
גם עברו דברי־רע[496]
דין לא־דנו דין יתום ויצליחו[497]
ומשפט אביונים[498] לא שפטו
29 העל־אלה לא־אפקד
נאם־יהוה
אם בגוי אשר־כזה לא תתנקם נפשי
ס

The conjunction כי connects unit 5:26-29 to the previous one, but as mentioned above, the complete change of subject justifies the separation of vv. 26-29, which in the Masoretic tradition the end of this unit is indicated by presence ס after v. 29,[499] but this delimitation can also be observed in the Greek text based on the following elements: content, the oracular formula λεγει κυριος and the shift to a different topic in vv. 30-31.

Despite challenging textual issues concerning ישור כשך יקושים in v. 26,[500] the social dimension of evil is exposed more explicitly here than in 5:1-6,[501] as the actions of רשעים are described in detail: הציבו משחית אנשים ילכדו is illustrated by the following simile מלא עוף כן בתיהם מלאים מרמה, where exploitation is denounced as the real source of accumulation of wealth (על־כן גדלו ויעשיירו v. 27). This metaphor, which

[492] See Volz, *Jeremia*, 66; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 75.
[493] Minus.
[494] Plus εφεσταμενη.
[495] Minus.
[496] Minus.
[497] Minus.
[498] χηρας = אלמנה.
[499] Even some scholars who consider vv. 20-29(31) a single unit subdivide it between vv. 20-25, 26-29 (and 30-31). See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 42; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 247; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 95.
[500] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 63; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 133.
[501] See Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 75-76; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 81.

dehumanises mankind through its comparison with caged animals reducing human beings to the status of a commodity, is incorporated within a speech intimately in tune with the issue of social justice. This denunciation of social injustice, so central to prophetic message,[502] continues in the following verse (שמנו עשתו גם עברו דין לא דנו דין יתום), where the wicked ones transpires a sense of arrogance,[503] and is even accentuated by the Masoretic expansions (דבר־רע and ויצליחו ומשפט אביונים v. 28).[504] An exegetical comment (העל־אלה לא אפקד נאם־יהוה) in the last verse reveals the identity of the speaker and closes the unit with the chorus (אם בגוי אשר־כזה לא תתנקם נפשי), which is repeated in 5:9 and 9:8.[505] Such a social abuse goes against the divine quality given to the rulers for the maintenance of justice also voiced in other places in Jeremiah, such as chapters 7 and 22.[506] For these reasons, some scholars have located these verses during the period of King Jehoiakim,[507] but such representations are highly influenced by Deuteronomistic literary constructions and the most suitable scenario for these social problems seems to be the circumstances described in Nehemiah 5.[508]

Jer 5:30-31

30 שמה ושערורה נהיתה בארץ
31 הנביאים נבאו־בשקר והכהנים ירדו[509] על־ידיהם
ועמי אהבו כן ומה־תעשו לאחריתה

[502] See Houston, *Justice*, 81-84; Gottwald, *Social*, 60-72; Schwantes, *Armen*, 116-22; Wilhelm J. Wessels, 'Prophet, Poet and Ethics: A Study of Jeremiah 5:26-29', *OTE* 21 (2008):729, 737-42.
[503] It is highly likely that עשתו has the sense of 'thought highly of themselves' cf. Aron Pinker, 'The Semantic Field of עשתו in the Hebrew Bible', *VT* 57 (2007):386-99.
[504] Wessels, 'Prophet', 735-37.
[505] See Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 75-76; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 81; Wessels, 'Prophet', 737.
[506] See Weinfeld, *Social*, 25-32; Maier, *Lehrer*, 231-36.
[507] See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 50-51; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 249; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 190; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 412.
[508] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 63-64; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 75-76; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 187-88; Schwantes, *Armen*, 122-24. Wessels is more flexible, allowing sometime between the exilic to the postexilic periods and suggests that these verses might have their origin with sapiecial and cultic circles cf. Wessels, 'Prophet', 739.
[509] επεκροτησαν/επεκρατησαν.

These last two verses of Jeremiah 5 are dedicated to the critique against the religious leaders, a theme which already occurred earlier (2:8, 26; 4:9; 6:13), although kings and princes were also included amongst them,[510] but there are also affinities with vv. 12-13, which presumably reflect criticism against the agnosticism in terms of the imminent judgment amongst the שלום prophets.[511] Whilst the critique against the prophets seems clear, the same cannot be said in terms of the priests because there are some challenges involved with the clause ירדו על־ידיהם. Duhm suggest that this was a reference to bribes whilst Holladay interprets it as antonym of consecration.[512] A viable alternative can be to be interpret it as authority metaphorically.[513] For Duhm, these verses are postexilic, but Carroll seems more reluctant due their vagueness.[514] What seems more certain is that the clause ועמי אהבו כן seems to support popular approval of optimistic predictions and the question ומה־תעשו לאחריתה seems to be aware of the destruction and suggest that these verses were probably placed here strategically to bridge with intense scenes of destruction in Jeremiah 6.

Jer 6:1-8

1 העזו בני בנימן מקרב ירושלם
ובתקוע תקעו שופר ועל־בית הכרם
שאו משאת כי רעה נשקפה מצפון ושבר גדול
2 הנוה[515] והמענגה[516] דמיתי[517] בת־ציון
3 אליה יבאו רעים ועדריהם
תקעו עליה אהלים סביב
רעו איש את־ידו
4 קדשו עליה מלחמה
קומו ונעלה[518] בעהרים
אוי לנו כי־פנה היום

[510] See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 190; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 76-77.
[511] See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 136; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 81.
[512] Duhm, *Jeremia*, 64; William L. Holladay, '"The Priests Scrape Out on Their Hands," Jeremiah V 31', *VT* 15 (1965):111-13.
[513] *HAL* 388; *DCH* 4:82.
[514] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 64-65; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 190.
[515] γινεται = היה.
[516] και αφαιρεφησεται = ענג.
[517] το υψος σου = רם.
[518] Plus επ αυτην.

כי ינטו צללי־ערב
5 קומו ונעלה בלילה
ונשחיתה ארמנותיה ס
6 כי כה אמר יהוה צבאות[519]
כרתו עצה[520]
ושפכו על־רושלם סללה
היא[521] העיר הפרד[522]
כלה עשק בקרבה
7 כהקיר בור מימיה
כן הקרה רעתה
המס ושד ישמע בה
על־פני המיד חלי ומכה[523]
8 הנסרי ירושלם
פן־הקע נפשי ממך
פן־אשימך שממה
ארץ לוא נושבה
פ

The resumption of the war theme indicated by a sequence of three imperatives (העזו בני בנימן מקרב ירושלם ובתקוע תקעו שופר ועל־בית הכרם שאו משאת cf. 6:1) opens a new unit; however, its end cannot be defined by the presence of ס after v. 5 in the Masoretic tradition nor by the formula כה אמר יהוה צבאות (vv. 6, 9) but the closure of unit 6:1-8 is signalled by the presence of פ instead. Such a delimitation is supported by extensive literary skills, such as assonance, wordplay and repetition.[524] The insertion of the conjunction οτι in the Greek version attempts to connect this pericope with vv. 9ff, but the change of images from v. 9 onwards supports the delimitation 6:1-8.

[519] Minus.
[520] τα ευλα αυτης = עצה.
[521] ω = הוי
[522] ψευδης = השקר/הפרק.
[523] πονω και μαστιγι.
[524] See Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 857; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 191; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 99; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 84. Literary unity, however, should not be mistaken for single authorship. Duhm and Carroll divide 6:1-8 into vv. 1-5 and 6-8; the former considers vv. 6-8 as a redactional expansion whilst Carroll separates these verses based on their different voices. Lundbom, however, proposes that v. 8 might be an independent fragment connecting the following verses to 1-7. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 65-67; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 191; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 414. The suggestions proposed by Duhm and Carroll are justifiable, but not necessary, as there are precedents of editorial expansions or/and shift of speakers within the same unit (e.g., 4:5-8; 5:12-14). Even though Lundbom does not use the term redaction, in practice his proposal that v. 8 bridges vv. 1-7 with the next unit executes exactly what editorial links do.

The mentioning of בני בנימן (6:1) has intrigued scholars leading some of them to wonder if the words within this unit were addressed to the prophet's hometown, his fellowmen taking asylum in Judah, or a discussion considering whether the land of Benjamin was also considered part of Judah's territory,[525] but an intertextual exegesis involving 6:1-8 and Judges 19–20 points to a different direction and suggests that the vocative בני בנימן may well reflect a troop alluding to the horrendous crime committed in Gibeah; the use of this terminology addressing Judah, therefore, would certainly have shocked those familiar with this story.[526]

Clear parallels between this unit and 4:5-8 can be observed on the table below:

Jer 6:1-5	Structure	Jer 4:5-7
ובתקוע תקעו שופר	Alarm	ותקעו שופר בארץ
ועל־בית הכרם שאו משאת	Signal	שאו־נס ציונה
כי רעה נשקפה מצפון ושבר גדול	Evil from the North	כי רעה אנכי מביא מצפנן ושכר גדול
אליה...עליה אהלים... קדשו עליה מלחמה... ונשחיתה ארמנותיה	Feminization of Zion	ארצך... עריך

Yet, some subtle differences between both texts can also be found. They seem to represent different chronological moments within the storyline, as disaster is imminent in 4:5-8 whereas 6:1-8 seems to be an immediate continuation of 4:29-31 in which העזו (6:1) clearly implies evacuation suggesting that the calamity is inevitable.[527] Metaphors referring to the enemy are employed in both pericopes, but whilst אריה is explicitly threating, רעים is paradoxical because it gives the impression of something harmless until their actions are disclosed.[528] Also, whereas the catastrophe is openly attributed to Yahweh in 4:8 (כי

[525] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 65; Volz, *Jeremia*, 71-72; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 37-38, Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 856-57; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 253-54; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 99-100; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 78-79; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 85.
[526] See Jan Joosten, 'Les Benjaminites au Milieu de Jérusalem: Jérémie VI 1ss et Juges XIX–XX', *VT* 49 (1999):65-72; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 262-63.
[527] Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 78-79. Here, in the same manner as in 4:19-22, the writer explores aural senses cf. Graybill, 'Soundscape', 467-90.
[528] See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 191; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 78-79; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 625.

לא־שב חרון אף־יהוה ממנו), the deity's attribution of misfortune only appears in 6:6-8; this of course depends on the identity of the speaker in vv. 1-5 and whether vv. 6-8 are considered as an editorial expansion or not. McKane and Wanke suggest that Jeremiah is the speaker (vv. 1-3) followed by the enemy (vv. 4-5) and Yahweh (vv. 6-8),[529] but the destruction of the city (דמיתי בת־ציון cf. 6:3) could hardly be effectuated by the prophet alone unless the figures of both Yahweh and Jeremiah are intimately united in the speech; in addition, the foe might be understood as acting at the deity's command (קדשו עליה מלחמה cf. 6:4).[530] However, if the prophet and the enemy speak in vv. 1-5 and the last three verses are considered editorial expansion, then, based on Joo's model, it is possible to argue that 6:1-5 is older than 4:5-8 because the foreign invasion in the former is presumably related to the people's own sin, which was plainly attributed to the divine activity by a later redactor in 6:6-7.[531] Still, it is worth noting that even in the redactional expansion there is no reference to idolatry, as עשק in v. 6 resonates with the issue of social justice mentioned in 5:26-28,[532] which the simile (כהקיר בור מימיה כן הקרה רעתה המס ושד ישמע בה), introduced in the next verse, carries the sense of something continuously outpouring.[533]

Some scholars have interpreted הוסרי ירושלם פן־תקע נפשי ממך פן־ אשימך שממה ארץ לוא נושבה (6:8) as presenting a last chance to avoid the coming judgement,[534] but in the same way that 4:14 works as an exegetical comment, interpreting the calamity in retrospect, something similar might be argued regarding 6:8.[535] Apart from the redactional

[529] See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 138; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol.1, 78.
[530] See Fretheim, *Suffering*, 149-54; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 70; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 76.
[531] Joo, *Provocation*, 225-30.
[532] See Weinfeld, *Social*, 25-32; Maier, *Lehrer*, 231-36; Schwantes, *Armen*, 116-24; Houston, *Justice*, 81-84; Gottwald, *Social*, 60-72; Wessels, 'Prophet', 729, 737-42.
[533] Richard S. Hess, 'Hiphil Forms of QWR in Jeremiah VI 7', *VT* 49 (1991):347-50.
[534] See Volz, *Jeremia*, 73; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 49; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 252; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 138; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 208; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 97; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 71; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 626; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 426.
[535] See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 193; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 79; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 85.

expansions in vv. 6-8, most scholars locate vv. 1-5 before the fall of Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE.[536] However, there are two relevant aspects observed by Carroll. Firstly the fact that the holy war (קדשו עליה מלחמה cf. 6:4) in 6:1-5 unexpectedly targets Judah instead of the foreign invaders and, secondly, the language employed in these verses probably derived from the OAN (𝔐-Jeremiah 46–51/𝔊-Jeremiah 26–28).[537] The radical form of military answer (*ḥērem*) to the chaotic danger brought by the enemy was a common ANE concept even though its specific vocabulary is not always present in all ANE peoples; the fact that this language is rich within Israel and Judah suggests that the exposure to foreign campaigns during the history of both nations might have contributed to the development of this language;[538] in addition, the rate of mentioning of *ḥērem* in conquest narratives alongside Deuteronomistic writings reinforces the association with those moments in which foreign threat was sensed.[539] In terms of the oracle against Babylon, Reimer argues that like other anti-Babylonian traditions, it is difficult to date this oracle with precision, but he proposes it emerged from the exilic period.[540] If this is the case, then, it might be possible to argue that Jer 6:1-8 reflects a post-disaster text. It is conceivable that anti-Babylonian sentiments, which began before the fall of Jerusalem, might have influenced the biblical writers during the early exilic period, but this holy war language was recycled and reinterpreted as Yahweh leading the war against his own people.

[536] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 65-66; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 37-38; Volz, *Jeremia*, 73; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 50-51; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 858; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 205; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 78-79; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 253; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 99; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 421; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 85.
[537] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 191-92.
[538] See Crouch, *War*, 179-89; Niditch, *War*, 67-68, 76-77. Leaving aside the fact that Niditch argues that Jeremiah began his ministry during Josiah's time, she mentions three significant aspects: cases in which the ban does not necessarily involve idolatry but only just causes, Jeremiah's oracle against Babylon as an example against the abusive superpower and the horrible crime in Judges 19–21, although he uses this story as a case in which the ban did not work well cf. Niditch, *War*, 65-66, 68-72.
[539] Crouch, *War*, 189.
[540] Reimer, *Oracles*, 247.

Jer 6:9-15

9 כה[541] אמר יהוה צבאות[542]
עולל יעוללו כגפן שארית ישראל
השב ידך כבוצר על־סלסלות[543]
10 על־מי אדברה ואעידה וישמעו
הנה ערלה אזנם ולא יוכלו[544] להקשיב
הנה דבר־יהוה היה להם לחרפה
לא יחפצו־בו
11 ואת המה יהוה[545] מלאתי
נלאיתי הכיל
שפך[546] על־עולל בחוץ
ועל סוד בחורים יחדו
כי־גם־איש עם־אשה ילכדו
זקן עם־מלא ימים
12 ונסבו בתיהם לאחרים
שדות ונשים יחדו
כי־אטה את־ידי על־ישבי הארץ[547]
נאם־יהוה
13 כי מקטנם ועד־גדולם
כלו בוצע בצע
ומנביא ועד־כהן
כלו עשה שקר
14 וירפאו את־שבר עמי על־נקלה
לאמר שלום שלום ואין[548] שלום
15 הבישו כי תועבה עשו
גם־בוש לא־יבושו
גם־הכלים לא ידעו
לכן יפלו בנפלים[549]
בעת־פקדתים[550] יכשלו
אמר יהוה
ס

Unit 6:9-15 is delimitated by the formula כה אמר יהוה צבאות and אמר יהוה (vv. 9, 15), which can also be observed in the Greek text even though the Masoretic tradition expands the first formula by adding צבאות. Even though some commentators attempt to date these verses

[541] Plus οτι.
[542] Minus.
[543] τον καρταλλον αυτου = סל.
[544] Plus ακουσαι.
[545] και τον θυμον μου = ואת המתי.
[546] και επεσχου και ου συνετελεσα αυτους εκχεω.
[547] Plus ταυτην.
[548] και του εστιν = ואיה.
[549] εν τη πτωσει αυτων = בנפלם.
[550] επισκοτης αυτων = פקדתם.

before the fall of the capital,[551] close affinities with 4:4; 5:1-6, 10, 14 and 8:10-12 compromise such proposals.

There are significant challenges involved in the identification of the speakers within this pericope. The use of 3m.p. (עולל יעוללו) in v. 9 probably refers to the northern invaders and the image employed (עולל יעללו כגפן שארית ישראל השב ידך כבוצר על־סלסלות) in this verse resembles the one used in 5:10, which should not be understood as a possibility of sparing the remnants but as a conviction regarding the destruction instead.[552]

Alarmed by such a terrifying prospect, the following rhetorical question (על־מי אדברה ואעידה וישמעו cf. 6:10) is asked to the deity. Along the same lines of 5:1-6, it searches for anyone open to the word of Yahweh, but the metaphor of uncircumcision (ערלה אזנם) provides a negative answer. As in 4:1, this metaphor evokes a ritual, which probably originated within the exilic settings and its symbolism of a profound commitment is a common feature of Deuteronomistic editorial activity.[553] In this case ערלה אזנם is used to refer to the rejection of the divine word (דבר־יהוה היה להם לחרפה לא יחפצו־בו) and the renunciation of the word of Yahweh results in the divine wrath repressed within the prophet (ואת חמת יהוה מלאתי נלאיתי הכיל). Its outbreak (שפך cf. 6:11) resembles with 5:14, although in this case the sense of corporate responsibility, common in Deuteronomistic

[551] Except for Duhm, who considered שארית ישראל an eschatological gloss, most commentators locate this unit before the disaster. For Volz, only vv. 9-11 belong to during Josiah's early days. Bright argues that the reference of priests in v. 14 suggests a post-reformation period. For this reason, Thompson, locates these verses sometime after 621 BCE following Nebuchadrezzar's previous assaults. Craig et al. argue that vv. 9-15 with 5:1-9 were part of a larger poem, which they date during King Josiah's later period. Holladay, however, considers this unit part of the second scroll and dates it between 601-600 BCE. Both Rudolph and Lundbom seem undecisive between the periods of King Josiah and King Jehoiakim. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 67-68; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 38-39, Volz, *Jeremia*, 75; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 49-50; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 258; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 102-103; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 212-13; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 427.

[552] See Soggin, 'Negaziones', 56-59; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 144-45; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 194-95.

[553] See Soggin, *Storia*, 326-28; Wyatt, 'Circumcision', 405-31; Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 94; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 138; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 88; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 58; Hendel, 'Prophets',198.

language, seems more evident (על־עולל בחוץ ועל סוד בחורים יחדו כי גם־איש עם־אשה ילכדו זקן עם־מלא ימים).[554]

As shown on the following table, other parallels can be noticed between 6:11-15 and 8:12-12.[555]

Jer 6:11-15	Content	Jer 8:10-12
כי־גם־איש עם־אשה ילכדו זקן עם־מלא ימים	Confiscation	לכן אתן את־נשיהם לאחרים
ונסבו בתיהם לאחרים שדות ונשים יחדו		שדותיהם לירשים
כי מקטנם ועד־גדולם כלו בוצע בצע	Systemic corruption	[כי מקטן ועד־גדול כלה בצע בצע
ומנביא ועד־כהן כלו עשה שקר	Critique towards the clergy	מנביא ועד־כהן כלה עשה שקר
וירפאו את־שבר עמי על־נקלה לאמר שלום שלום ואין שלום	Falsehood	וירפו את־שבר בה־עמי על־נקלה לאמר שלום שלום ואין שלום
הבישו כי תועבה עשו גם־בוש לא־יבושו גם הכלים לא ידעו לכן יפלו בנפלים בעת־פקדתים יכשלו אמר יהוה	Doom	הבשו כי תועבה עשו גם־בוש לא־יבשו והכלם לא ידעו לכן יפלו בנפלים בעת פקדתם יכשלו אמר יהוה]

The absence of a large portion in 𝔊-Jer 8:10-12, indicated by brackets above, suggests that its occurrence in 6:11-15 was probably original, although this does not mean that they were not secondary to 6:9-11a, as these verses deal with the rejection of the divine word whilst vv. 11b-15 aim to explain the consequences for such a dismissal.[556] Other causes are included with the rejection of the word of Yahweh as the justification of the divine judgement. As in 5:4-5, 26-28, the prophetic concerns about social justice, which denounce the widespread corruption appear again in 6:13 and not only resonate with the content of the temple sermon, but also contrasts the characters of the kings Josiah and Jehoiakim (Jeremiah 7 and 22).[557] The critique

[554] See Patrick, 'Rhetoric', 421-36; Kaminsky, *Corporate*, 11.
[555] For this reason, Volz treated 8:8f.; 6:11f.; 6:13-15 as part of the same unit criticising the spiritual leaders. Carroll, however, considers vv. 12-15 a separate unit. Although Wanke does not consider these verses a different unit, he includes the second half of vv. 10, 12 and 15 with the redactional expansions. See Volz, *Jeremia*, 75-77; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 197-99; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 80.
[556] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 196-97.
[557] See Houston, *Justice*, 81-84; Gottwald, *Social*, 60-72; Weinfeld, *Social*, 25-32; Maier, *Lehrer*, 231-36; Schwantes, *Armen*, 113-26; Wessels, 'Prophet', 729, 737-42.

against the religious leaders is another cause added to substantiate the divine punishment and the clash with the שלום prophets in 6:13 is closer to Jeremiah 26–29 than in 5:12-14 because here the term שקר actually appears juxtaposing the false security preached by the שלום prophets;[558] however, the fact that they appear alongside the critique against systemic social injustice should not be overlooked, especially because these different causes are merged in Jeremiah 7 to justify the divine judgment. In this sense, the critique against the שלום prophets fits both the false security in face of the coming judgment and the empty words, which do not confront injustice. In this sense שלום שלום becomes mantra as היכל יהוה היכל יהוה היכל יהוה (7:4) already is. Therefore, as it already occurred in previous units, it is plausible that 6:11b-15 reflects an editorial expansion, which interprets the previous verses adding new motifs to the apologetic discourse of divine punishment. What is interesting in terms of 6:11-15 and 8:10-12 is the fact that both appear within the context of the rejection of the divine word (דבר־יהוה היה להם cf. 6:10; 8:9). The confirmation of the divine judgment probably had a significant impact in the formulation of the theology of the word and even in its incorporation within the editorial process of this prophetic book alongside the identification of Jeremiah as a messenger of doom.[559]

Jer 6:16-21

16 כה אמר יהוה
עמדו על־דרכים וראו ושאלו לנתבות[560] עולם[561]
אי־זה דרך הטוב ולכו־בה
ומצאו מרגוע[562] לנפשכם
ויאמרו לא נלך
17 והקמתי עליכם צפים
הקשיבו לקול שופר
ויאמרו לא נקשיב

[558] Overholt, *Threat*, 24-36.
[559] Levin, 'Wort', 257-80.
[560] Plus κυριου.
[561] Plus και ιδετε.
[562] αγνισμον # textual variant.

18 לכן שמעו הגוים ודעי[563] עדה את[564]־אשר[565]־בם
19 שמעי הארץ הנה אנכי מביא רעה אל־העם הזה
פרי מחשבותם[566] כי על־דברי לא הקשיבו
ותורתי וימאסו־בה[567]
20 למה־זה לי לבונה משבא
תבוא[568] וקנה הטוב[569] מארץ מרחק
עלותיכם לא לרצון
וזבחיכם לא־ערבו לי פ
21 לכן כה אמר יהוה
הנני נתן אל־העם הזה מכשלים וכשלו בם
אבות ובנים יחדו
שכן ורעו יאבדו
פ

Even though the presence of פ after v. 20 might be confusing, this unit is delimitated by the formulas כה אמר יהוה in vv. 16 and 21. Not only did these oracular formulas appear in the Greek text, but also the presence of פ after v. 21 reinforces this delimitation; moreover, the resumption of the threat from the North from vv. 22ff. onwards also support this segmentation.[570] Apart from the absence of the critique against idolatry, in a similar way to Jer 2:2-13, this unit compiles independent oracles within a unified composition. Such resemblances jeopardise any attempt to date this unit during the Josianic period and even during the time of King Jehoiakim, as has been proposed.[571]

This general inventory of the people's offenses is organised as a polemic,[572] denouncing the incoherence between disobedience and exuberant ritualistic practices. Alike the contrast between 2:2-3 and

[563] και οι ποιμαινοντες = ורעי.
[564] τα ποιμνια = עדות .
[565] Minus.
[566] αποστροφης αυτων = משובתם.
[567] Minus.
[568] φερετε = תביאו.
[569] Minus.
[570] The פ (v. 20) is absent in the Aleppo Codex cf. Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 433. Except for Holladay, who includes vv. 22-26 within this unit (cf. Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 218-26), the following commentators agree with the proposed delimitation. See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 50; Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', 862-64; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 259-62; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 200-201; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 148-51; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 82-83; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 165-69; Craig et. al., *Jeremiah*, 104-107; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 87-89; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 73-75; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 78-80; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 627-28.
[571] See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 50; Volz, *Jeremia*, 81; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 260; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 106; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 226.
[572] Maier uses the term *der Schuldaufweis* cf. Maier, *Lehrer*, 311.

2:4-13, an ideal past (עמדו על־דרכים וראו ושאלו לנבות עולם אי־דרך הטוב) in which the return to a desirable conduct guarantees some form of bliss (ולכו־בה ומצאו מרגוע לנפשכם) is juxtaposed with the current rebellion (ויאמרו לא נלך) in 6:16.[573] Such an insubordination is reaffirmed by the rejection of צפים in 6:17, which is probably a reference to the prophets sent by Yahweh urging the people to amend their way (cf. Ezek 33:1-7); however, such a romantic view, which canonises the prophets, denounces a late literary stage.[574]

In the same fashion as 2:12, another oracle (6:18-19) is linked to this unit by the conjunction לכן and the קשב motif. It addresses הגוים...עדה...הארץ to witness the judgement of the people's rebellion (אנכי מביא רעה אל־העם הזה), which is described as a consequence of their own acts (פרי מחשבותם). Although such features certainly characterise Deuteronomistic patterns,[575] it is difficult to specify which Deuteronomistic layer they belong to because both divine retribution and the people's responsibility for their own fate are blended. According to Joo's paradigm, the earlier stage of the Deuteronomistic layer employs various disciplinary factors as a result of the people's own misconduct, but in the later stratum calamity is more openly related to the divine activity.[576] But the fact that אנכי מביא רעה אל־העם הזה is justified by the rejection of the divine world, which is presented as a synonym of the Torah (cf. כי על־דברי לא הקשיבו ותורתי וימאסו־בה

[573] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 70-71; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 200; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 82-83; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 165. Biddle even suggests that this kind of selectivity and a synthesis are common to post-exilic writing repertoire cf. Biddle, *Redaction*, 159-200.
[574] See Auld, 'Prophets', 3-23; Bogaert, 'Baruch', 168-73.
[575] Duhm considered vv. 18-19 a gloss on the grounds that allusions to the Torah and disobedience were not part of the prophet's message and he also suggested that v. 21 was part of the supplements cf. Duhm, *Jeremia*, 71-72. Thiel clearly argued that excluding vv. 18-20, this was a Deuteronomistic composition. See Thiel, *Jeremiah 1–25*, 99-102. Maier argues that 6:16-21 is not literary uniform because there are variations in form and content between vv. 16-12, 20 and 18-19, 21 cf. Maier, *Lehrer*, 312-13.
[576] Joo, *Provocation*, 225-30.

6:19), might support a case for a later postexilic Deuteronomistic redaction.[577]

A critique of sophisticated rituals represented by the pair למה־זה לי לבונה משבא תבוא וקנה הטוב מארץ מרחק (6:20) and its disapproval (עלותיכם לא לרצון וזבחיכם לא־ערבו לי) resembles 2:22. It is not necessary however, to interpret such criticisms in the light of the antagonism between prophets and priests proposed in the old biblical scholarship.[578] Their differences might rest on distinctive types of authority, which are driven by different concerns and strategies, alongside dissimilar norms and limits; moreover, whilst priestly ethics are intimately connected to rituals, prophetic discourse does not criticise rituals in themselves but juxtaposes ethics with them instead. Also, certain settings are more favourable than others in terms of rituals. All these factors contribute to the development of very distinctive cosmologies, which deeply affect the way in which prophets and priests interpret reality.[579] Apparently נתן אל־העם הזה מכשלים וכשלו בם אבות ובנים יחדו שכן ורעו יאבדו in 6:21 attempts to build a bridge with 6:15 without losing contact with its own unit as linguistic affinities, such as הנני, with 6:19 (e.g., שמעי, הנה), maintain this connection.[580] Yet retribution here might not necessarily be related to the disaster of 587/6 BCE, as מכשלים was translated as ασθενειαν;[581] in is the case physical evil does not appear to be related to human causes but natural ones instead.

Jer 6:22-26

22 כה אמר יהוה
הנה עם בא מארץ צפון וגוי גדול[582] יעור מירכת־ארץ
23 קשת וכידון יחזהקו
אכזרי הוא ולא ירחמו
קולם כים יהמה

[577] Thiel, *Jeremiah 1–25*, 99-102; Levin, 'Wort', 257-80; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 82-83; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 201; Maier, *Lehrer*, 313-16.
[578] On this matter, Holladay proposes that this confrontation between prophet and priest reflects the outcome of historical Jeremiah preaching at the temple in chapter 7 cf. Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 226.
[579] Hendel, 'Prophets', 185-98.
[580] Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 83.
[581] See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 151; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 201.
[582] Minus.

ועל־סוסים ירכבו[583]
ערוך[584] כאיש[585] למלחמה
עליך בת־ציון
24 שמענו את־שמעו
רפו ידינו
צרה החזיקתנו
היל כיולדה
25 אל־הצאי[586] השדה
ובדרך אל־הלכי[587]
כי חרב לאיב
מגור מסביב
26 בת־עמי הגרי־שק
והתפלשי באפר
אבל יחיד עשי לך
מספד תמרורים
כי פחאת יכא השדד[588] עלינו[589]

The borders of unit 6:22-26 are established by the formula כה אמר יהוה (v. 22) and content shift from v. 27 onwards; this delimitation is also replicated in the Greek counterpart. Apart from few scholars, most commentators follow this unit division. Despite different proposed timelines, they also argue that these verses talk about an imminent invasion.[590] This unit is divided into two parts. Yahweh is the speaker in vv. 22-23 addressing Jerusalem, which is referred to in v. 23 by the use of 2.f.s. (עליך בת־ציון). The pair עם בא מארץ צפון וגוי גדול יעור מירכתי־ארץ (v. 22) followed by colourful descriptions (קשת וכידון יחזיקו קולם כים יהמה ועל־סוסים ירכבו ערוך כאיש למלחמה) resumes the theme about

[583] και αρμασιν = ורכב.
[584] παραταχεται = יערוך.
[585] ως πυρ = כאש.
[586] με εκπορευσθε = אל־תצאו.
[587] μη βαδιζετε = אל־תלכו.
[588] ταλαιπωρια = השד.
[589] εφ υμας.
[590] Early scholars identified the enemy with the Scythians (cf. Duhm, *Jeremia*, 72-74), but this position has been virtually abandoned and the Chaldeans have general acceptance (cf. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 41-43; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 84-85). Holladay and Craig et al., however, divide the unit differently. The former delimits the unit as vv. 16-26 and locates it during the time of King Jehoiakim, but the latter establishes the unit as vv. 22-30 and places it during King Josiah's rule. See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 218-26; Craig et al., *Jeremiah*, 107-12. Other commentators, such as Bright, Thompson and Lundbom, also favour the Josianic period. See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 50; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 263-64; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 440-46. The unit division 6:22-26 is still adopted by most commentators. See Volz, *Jeremia*, 82-83; Schmidt, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 169-71; Miller, 'Jeremiah', 628; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 75; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 80; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 90-91; Fischer, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 277-81.

the enemy from the North ready for war against the city.[591] In the second part the speaker shifts to the people, whose reaction to the terrifying news are impotence and distress illustrated by a feminine and vulnerable image (חיל כיולדה cf. v. 24). Although the first part of the unit gives the impression that the invasion is something imminent,[592] the slogan מגור מסביב in v. 25 alongside the descriptions within the same verse eliminate any doubts that the city is already occupied by the enemy.[593] Most commentators mentioned within this unit have noticed that apart from different recipients, the same oracle is used in vv. 22-23 and 𝔐-Jer 50:41-43, which corroborates the argument that oracles are malleably recycled to new situations.[594] Although Carroll correctly argues that this should not be interpreted as a literal description of the invading forces, his indecisiveness between 'anticipation, accompaniments or later reflections' seems overcautious.[595] The fact that later eschatological and apocalyptic writings preserve warfare vocabulary without clear historical references is not questioned here, but as the writers evidently applied both 6:22-23 and 𝔐-Jer 50:41-43 to Jerusalem and subsequently to Babylon, mythic language was then historicised and its demythologisation transformed myths into symbols.[596] Moreover, the inclusion of a lament at the end of the unit

[591] The deletion of כ from איש has been proposed as a solution for the problem regarding the incoherence involving the shift from plural to singular cf. J. A. Emerton, 'A Problem in the Hebrew Text of Jeremiah VI. 23 and L. 42', *JTS* 23 (1972):106-113.
[592] McKane gives the impression to place these verses just preceding 587/6 BCE, just before the fall of Jerusalem. This would be during the King Zedekiah's time, as has been proposed by some scholars. See McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 151; Sweeney, 'Structure', 200-18; Hardmeier, 'Redekomposition',11-42; —, Wahrhaftigkeit', 121-44.
[593] Curtis observes that the phrase מגור מסביב in Jeremiah appears with some consistency referring to the Babylonians, but without concluding if the phrase originated from Jeremiah or Psalm 31 he believes that this phrase could reflect a familiar formulaic language used within the context of anxiety caused by oppression or opposition from enemies. See A. W. H. Curtis, 'Terror on Every Side!', in *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception*, ed. A. H. W. Curtis and T. Römer, BETL 128 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 111-18.
[594] See Van Der Toorn, *Scribal*, 51-108; Reimer, *Oracles*, 240; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 201-203; Hill, *Friend*, 176-77; Kessler, *Battle*, 212-13.
[595] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 201-203.
[596] Ricoeur, *Symbolique*, 13-15. This was probably the case in terms of the way in which the Babylonian chaos battles were transformed in the Bible in order to adjust

even increases the suspicions that this is a retrospective reflection on the fall of the city.[597] The picture employed in the call for lament is disturbing (בת־עמי הגרי־שק והתפלשי באפר אבל יהיד v. 26), especially when it is contrasted with היל כיולדה (v. 24) because it eradicates any future hope. As in the case of Lamentations, the most plausible context for this lament employing burial language is introduced after the disaster in 587/6 BCE.[598] Whereas the claim that this unit can be dated to the prophet's early ministry during the time of the kings Josiah and Jehoiakim (or even Zedekiah) cannot be supported by a close study of the literary history of this unit, it seems that the direct criticism against the Zionistic orthodox theology of the first temple, which believed in the inviolability of Jerusalem, strongly suggests that this unit is probably the oldest layer in Jeremiah 2–6.[599] Compared to previous units of Jeremiah 6, this text does not mention that the military attack against Jerusalem is a disciplinary action in response to the people's own sin nor does it attribute it to the divine activity; the only identifiable layer is indicated by the presentation of the city as a women using 2.f.s.

Jer 6:27-30

27 בחון נתתיך בעמי מבצר
ותדע[600] ובחנת[601] את־דרכם
28 כלם סרי סוררים[602] הלכי רכיל
נחשת וברזל כלם משחיתים המה
29 נחר מפח מאשתם[603] עפרת
לשוא צרף צרוף
ורעים לא נתקו[604]

the rise of monotheism; it plays an important role, particularly in the NT eschatological narrative, where God delivers his people from their historical enemies. Such a demythologising process also was part of Israel self-understanding of reality and the understanding of the relationship with its God. See Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 314-35; Childs, *Myth*, 95-106.

[597] Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 128-129; Kratz, *Propheten*, 77-79.

[598] See Middlemas, *Troubles*, 226-228; Pham, *Mourning*, 13; Olyan, *Mourning*, 101-104.

[599] Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 129-30.

[600] Plus με.

[601] Plus με.

[602] Minus.

[603] απο πυρο εξελιπεν.

[604] εταχη = נתקו.

30 כסף נמאס קראו להם
כי־מאס יהוה בהם
פ

The shift to a different topic establishes unit 6:27-30 and despite the absence of פ marker in the Greek text, change to of topic and style in Jeremiah 7 provide solid grounds for this delimitation. An evaluation of the prophet's ministry is presented in these last verses. Particularly ותדע ובחנת את־דרכם (v. 27) emphasises the role of the prophet to test the people's guilt, which is confirmed by כלם סרי סוררים הלכי רכיל and כלם משחיתים המה (v. 28), as they resisted even the hottest fire used to purify metals (ורעים לא נתקו v. 29); thus, the unit concludes with the image of the metal that did not pass the test in reference to the people (כסף נמאס קראו להם כי־מאס יהוה בהם v. 30).[605] Most commentators consider these verses as an editorial conclusion to Jeremiah 2–6, although those who consider these chapters as part of the prophet's early ministry have proposed the setting between the reigns of the kings Josiah or Jehoiakim between 609 and 597 BCE;[606] however, close affinities with 1:18 in conjunction with the function of this unit to bridge with Jeremiah 7 suggest that these verses reflect a later stage.[607]

5.1.Conclusion

To recapitulate, as a modern interpreter of the ancient text one cannot make initial sense without inevitable preconceptions some of which are subsequently discarded and others confirmed. In this sense, modern concepts, such as theodicy, moral evil and physical/natural evil, are employed as heuristic tools to assess ancient Judah's

[605] See Oswald Loretz, '"Verworfenes Silber" (Jer 6, 27-30)', in *Wort, Lied und GottesspruchBeiträge zu Psalmen und Propheten: Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler*, ed. Josef Schreiner (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1972), 231-32; McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 157.
[606] See Volz, *Jeremia*, 43; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 85-86; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 50-51; Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 266; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 229; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 452.
[607] See Maier, 'Stronghold', 640-53; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, 204-205; Wanke, *Jeremia*, vol. 1, 86; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 80-81.

experience of the exile in which its theological reflection was partially expressed in the literary form of Jeremiah 2–6. The approach adopted here starts from the fuller Masoretic text moving to the shorter Greek text of Jeremiah. The Masoretic form, which is the starting point of our discussion, assumes the Persian period as its social-historical location; the closer certain features of the text, such as monotheism and aniconic practices, approximates features of developing Judaism, the later this text can be arguably dated.

Jeremiah 2–6 is formed by two large blocks (Jer 2:2–4:2 and 4:5–6:30), which were combined by 4:3-4 and slightly expanded by the addition of ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי לאמר הלך וקראת באזני ירושלם לאמר and במדבר בארץ לא זרועה (𝔐-Jer 2:1-2a, c). Since 2:2–4:2 concentrates largely on apostasy and repentance, the use of the term moral evil seems justifiable; in the same manner, the employment of the term physical/natural evil in relation to 4:5–6:30 appears legitimate due to its focus on the enemy from the North. However, this does not mean that moral evil is absent in 4:5–6:30 or imply that physical/natural evil is not present in 2:2–4:2; these different aspects of evil are often entangled in both sections but each with distinctive emphases. Whereas suffering is moralised according to new religious reconfigurations in 4:5–6:30, misfortune is interpreted as a consequence of violation of the religious norm; to put it differently, they start from opposite poles and converges in the middle.

In agreement with Biddle (except for the Masoretic expansion mentioned above), 2:2-3 and 4:1-2 function as a frame to 2:4–3:25 and, therefore, should be considered its latest stratum. The prose sections within Jeremiah 3 are probably the next latest layer. Futuristic references alongside universalistic contours, mentioning the return of the exiles, the united monarchy and the extinction of the ark suggest that 3:14-18 is probably the latest text in Jeremiah 3 followed by 3:6-11 as the next latest, which may reflect a conflict between the Judean and exilic communities during the Persian period. It is possible that the

critique against idolatry and images within the non-2m.p. layer in Jeremiah 2 might also have originated within the same period. References to hope, universalism and liturgical traces within the poems in 3:12-13, 19-20 also suggest early postexilic age. Since 3:1-5 lacks these features, it may be earlier than these two poems but still early postexilic or late exilic, as it presumes 2:14-25, 29-37, which are part of the 2.f.s. exilic layer and its focus is on the criticism against the past political alliances.

The latest part of the section concerning physical/natural evil is probably 6:27-30 due to its evaluation of the prophetic ministry alongside its connection with 1:18 and the intention to bridge Jeremiah 2–6 and chapter 7. Except for the poems related to the threat from the North, the next layers are more difficult to determine, but allusions to idolatry and the remnant in 5:7-9 and 18-25 might support a case for postexilic date. The fate of Israel and Judah associated with the rejection of the word of Yahweh in 5:10-11 and 6:9-21 also seem to be part of the postexilic setting and issues concerning social injustice in 5:1-6 and 26-29 could reflect the situation described in Nehemiah. As mentioned above, those texts alluding to the enemy from the North alongside laments in 4:5-8, 13-22 and 6:1-8 probably reflect theological interpretation of the disaster of 587/6 BCE and, particularly, 6:22-26 is likely to be the oldest text within Jeremiah 2–6.

A final note to consider concerns the remarkable disorganisation in Jeremiah's structure due to extensive expansive glossing throughout its chapters. Despite the fact that Jeremiah does not share the same level of organisation that the other prophetic books have, it does attempt to present a development from lawsuit, via call to repentance to judgement, which gives the reader a sense of chronological development.

6. Synthesis and Conclusions

> The ultimate goal of the grief work is to be able to remember without emotional pain and to be able to reinvest emotional surpluses. While the experience of the grief work is difficult and slow and wearing, it is also enriching and fulfilling. The most beautiful people we have known are those who have known defeat, known suffering, known struggle, known loss, and have found their way out of the depths.[1]

To a great extent Jeremiah 2–6 narrates the death of Judah, but it was exactly through such a painful experience of the exile that its faith was reinvented in a way could have never been imagined; it produced such a rich literary heritage and was no longer geographically confined. This does not, of course, mean that there were no relevant pre-existing traditions before the exile, but they went through a large transformation to adapt to the needs of the new socio-historical circumstances. As part of this literary legacy, the book of Jeremiah reflects the memories of the last days of Judah. Memories do not imply an accurate register of the past however, since its (re)creation is shaped by contemporary experience. In this sense, history was largely interpreted by the unfolding of Judah's later (post-)exilic religious and political developments.

Before moving on to some final conclusions, I will briefly outline the previous chapters. This study focused on Jeremiah 2–6, whose chapters present a clear logical development. It starts with apostasy, followed by a call for repentance, and closes with judgement. The bookends to this long discourse are clearly indicated by the call narrative followed by the two visions in Jeremiah 1 and the temple sermon in Jeremiah 7. This research is divided into six chapters. Chapter 2 provides a selective survey of Jeremiah studies, highlighting the relationship between textual criticism and literary criticism as well as the development from source criticism to redactional criticism. Proposals of Jeremiah's Deuteronomistic redaction in particular,

[1] Elisabeth Kübler-Ross, *Death: The Final Stage of Growth* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975), 96.

resulted in two distinctive reactions, biographical and socio-literary approaches, which are still present nowadays. Also, the study of the final phases of the development of Jeremiah led on to synchronic approaches, which invited readers to participate in the creation of meaning. An attempt to justify the use of the term theodicy in the study of the OT/HB in more depth is provided in chapter 3. This chapter also presents an overview of the ANE milieu in which polytheism and iconic traditions feature, standing in contrast to more monotheistic and aniconic traditions. Another important aspect highlighted in this chapter is the debate on the subject of evil in which Ricoeur appears as the main voice; the wide spectrum of negative experiences related to the term evil is problematised and it is noted that in Jeremiah these various dimensions are reflected in disaster, misconduct, social problems, propensity to wickedness, alongside ideological use of evil and evil as suffering. The fourth chapter is dedicated to methodological matters, in which standard methods of biblical studies, such as text criticism, form criticism and the contributions of linguistic studies and intertextuality, are combined with hermeneutical sophistication. Chapter 5 argues that the suffering caused by 'natural/physical evil' through the disaster of 587/6 BCE triggered laments in Jer 4:5–6:30; such laments were theologised using different literary devices evolving into a theology of blame, followed by a further theological reflection on repentance, which appear more developed in Jeremiah 2–3.

When this project started, I was perhaps a little naïve in the confidence with which I approached the theology of Jeremiah 2–6, but as the research progressed many challenges emerged from a thorough study of Jeremiah, particularly after participating in a conference on Jeremiah's Scriptures in Ascona in 2014 and many meetings of the Nordic OTSEM consortium over the course of this long journey. Most of these crucial questions are related to historical and literary issues. Not least important is the challenge of Lessing's so-called 'ugly ditch', according to which it is problematic to attempt to move from historical

evidence to theological affirmation.[2] An apologetic approach, largely based on the idea of divine inspiration of the Scriptures, has for quite some time been acknowledged as inappropriate and deficient within critical biblical studies. In a such context due attention needs to be given to literary, linguistic and other devices employed by ancient Israelites in the attempt to articulate theological insights. It is an essential insight of biblical criticism that we should let ancient texts be themselves and not colonise or exploit them inappropriately, still less distort them. Nevertheless, even within such a historical critical approach, a careful attempt to elicit the theological insights of the text retains a legitimate place. The above discussion has acknowledged that the term theodicy has often been more at home within the fields of systematic theology and philosophy of religion than in biblical studies. However, since theodicy concerns the justification of God in the face of evil in the world, both the content of Jeremiah and the history of its reception provide legitimate contexts for the use of the term in the study of this prophetic literature. Theodicy works as an effective evaluative tool bridging discussion of the defeat and deportation of ancient Judah and perennial concerns about human suffering. It can be affirmed that traumatic and deeply painful experiences played an important role in the formation of the book of Jeremiah. In various ways the idea that the deity is behind specific circumstances has provided humanity with a mode of theological interpretation of world affairs. However, it is precisely when the plausibility of the connection between the divine wills and world events becomes problematic that sustaining such theological interpretation can become much more difficult but also much more profound.[3]

[2] Lessing, *Ueber*, 3-7.
[3] O'Connor, *Pain*, 135-37

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